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# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

James Rolph, Jr., and the Early Days of the San Francisco Municipal Railway

*By* MORLEY SEGAL

The French Attitude in California During the Civil War Decade

*By* A. P. NASATIR

The Final Roster of the Army of the West, 1846-1847

*By* DWIGHT L. CLARKE and GEORGE RUHLEN

The Quest for the Governorship of Spanish California

*Edited by* MANUEL P. SERVÍN

MARCH 1964

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# James Rolph, Jr., and the Early Days of the San Francisco Municipal Railway

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### *By* Morley Segal

On December 28, 1912, a robust, balding figure pushed his way through a cheering crowd of fifty thousand San Franciscans assembled at the corner of Geary and Market streets. After greeting nearby members of the crowd by their first names, he climbed aboard a shiny, new electric streetcar and piloted it on its maiden journey to Thirty-third Avenue and back.[1]

The occasion was the opening of America's first municipally owned railway, the Geary Street line, and the man was James Rolph, Jr., then serving the first of his five successive terms as mayor of San Francisco.

The fact that fifty thousand citizens of a relatively sophisticated city became quite enthusiastic over a short streetcar line indicates something about the emotional feeling behind the early municipal ownership movement, and also something about Mayor Rolph himself.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, urban public transportation was an extremely attractive and profitable undertaking to all but the fare paying public. By 1910 the cause of public ownership had become a minor but important ingredient in the Progressive reform movement then sweeping the United States. Even more than most other reformers, the Progressives considered their cause in highly moralistic terms. The question of municipal ownership was hotly debated, often with definite overtones of class consciousness.

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As a case in point, the pioneer Geary Street Railway was so heavily intertwined with the explosive social and political problems of early twentieth century San Francisco as to distort many citizens' view of the entire project. These citizens, many of whom were ardent supporters of municipal ownership, persisted in viewing the new railway almost solely in terms of the labor violence and exposure of municipal corruption which had taken place several years earlier.

In adopting a new city charter in 1902, San Franciscans had expressed dissatisfaction with private ownership of street railways, declaring it to be their purpose that "public utilities shall be gradually acquired and owned by the city and county of San Francisco."[2]

Between 1902 and 1911 bonds for the construction of the Geary Street Railway achieved a simple majority but failed the two-thirds majority three times. In 1907 the board of supervisors appropriated the necessary money only to have the appropriation nullified by Judge Sturtevant.[3] The years 1907 and 1908 also held for San Franciscans one of the most violent streetcar strikes ever to occur in an American city,[4] and a nationally publicized graft prosecution. The graft prosecution involved Patrick Calhoun (grandson of southern statesman John C.), then president of the city's largest private street railway, the United Railway Company.

In December of 1909 the voters finally passed the Geary Street bonds by a majority of three to one.[5] That this signified more than a matter of routine municipal business is illustrated by this editorial in the San Francisco *Call:*

> The impressive vote for the Geary Street railway bonds means that this city is weary of the intolerable oppression and disregard for public rights practiced by the United Railway as a deliberate and settled policy. The vote has a distinct moral as well as material significance. It means that Mr. Patrick Calhoun, who is President of United Railway, and his methods are condemned by three-fourths of the people of San Francisco.
>
> The bad service, the filthy cars, the constant breakdowns due to incompetent management, had become intolerable and when to these energies were added the perpetual and gratuitous meddling in local politics and the endeavor to create a spurious public opinion by hiring venal newspapers, the people could not stand it any longer .
>
> It cost the United Railway about $22.50 a vote to have the city adopt municipal ownership; that is, the street monopoly spent an equivalent of that sum, or $250,000.00 for the "White Elephant" campaign.[6]

Construction of the new tracks was actually initiated under Union Labor Mayor P. H. McCarthy in June of 1911. After a complete disgrace in the 1907-8 graft prosecution, the Union Labor Party had returned to power in 1909, and McCarthy chose the "day labor" system of construction in which the city directly employed track laborers. The connection between city jobs and city politics under Mayor McCarthy was by no means subtle, as illustrated in this letter received by Mayor Rolph shortly after he took office:

> Mayor Sir
>
> I write you a few lines some of the wrongs of the B. Works and Civil Service Com.
>
> I am one of the men employed by the city also a Civil Service man and have been for 10 years in the employment of the city but not till the last election did we have any complaint to make so I will state why most of the men voted against the P. H. McCarthy administration.
>
> About one year or so before the campaign there was a hold up in all Department of the B. of Works at whose head was the *Hon* Mike Casey excuse the *Hon.* We was told that a Social Club was to be organized in behalf of the administration and we all was expected join. The ini[ti]ation was 6 dollars for teamsters and 3.00 month dues Sewer Men was to pay $5.- each month and, Laborer $2.50 md. $1.00 per month. If you did not come through you had better look out. How some of us protested but we were in hot water and Keely told us if we did not come through to get the hell off the job . . .
>
> The assessment of the poor man is not in the charter so is good cause for removal
>
> A Union Labor Man.
>
> P.S. I had forgotten to tell you after the election there was another assessment for the non-civil service men whose pay was held up by the auditor on Werly Reeds protest—well when he got the money Rogerson—Brother in law of the *Hon* Mike told them it would cost them $1.00 a piece on as Rogerson had to pay $5.00 for a lawyer to get their money for them.[7]

The day labor system combined the benefits of extensive political patronage with those of an unemployment relief program. Unemployment was a chronic problem in the years immediately prior to World War I, and many citizens viewed municipal projects primarily in terms of making work for the unemployed. Some felt it a primary obligation of the mayor to create employment. The following letter received by Rolph shortly after he took office in 1912 is extreme in tone but hardly atypical in its plea for work.

Mr. Mayor
Dear Sir

Now just a few lines to let you know I came here from Chicago, left Chicago March 1st with $90.00, paid my way here expected to get work. Now Mr. Mayor, there are thousands of men coming here just the same as I come, on false notions around Chicago about them needing thousands of men. Well I am one. I came, and here I am, broke down and out looking for work. Now, please don't think I am crazy, or don't think I am a crank, but just wait and see. I do not want any more of the Sailors Home or Army food, as they are fakirs. If you don't believe me, just put on an old coat and hat and look shabby, and go to them and you will see how they are. Now, Mr. Mayor, I kind of blame you for letting them false notices go around all over the different cities, so, Mr. Mayor I was on Market St with the unemployed and I say something must be done. Now here is what I am going to do. If I do not get a job before next Monday, April 8, so help me God I am going to kill you. Now remember I will run up to you and put four shots into your stomach, and then try to get two more of the family, so you see we won't all be fooled. Now do not think I am crazy or a fool. I only want to eat.

From A Man who wants work.

P.S. If I get work I will let you know.[8]

Not so threatening but far more specific in its plan for unemployment relief is the following letter:

Dear Mr. Mayor

As the industrial and labor situation seems to be getting very tense and many of our citizens are becoming alarmed I thought a few suggestions might not be out of place. It is generally conceded that there are about 40,000 idle men in the city ... The many suicides and murders being committed about the Bay Region lately are mostly traceable to the cause of idleness and worry. The situation could be materially relieved by putting some of these men to work on the Geary Street railroad. Thy could be put to work in three four-hour shifts, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. thus giving employment to three men instead of one ... There is also a good deal of discontent among the laborers on the municipal work under contract and believe it would be wise for the city to do this work itself.[9]

Despite its side benefits, construction under the day labor system was slow, and by the end of McCarthy's term only 2.1 miles of track (not connected) had been laid for the Geary Street line.[10]

In February of 1912, after consulting with City Attorney Percy V. Long and visiting traction expert Bion J. Arnold, Rolph decided to submit construction of the Geary Street line for bids by private contractors.[11]

Municipal ownership was considered an impractical experiment by many people at this time, and Rolph wished to expedite construction, thus making the line an operating reality as soon as possible. The firm of Mahoney Brothers was low bidder, and as an added incentive was given a bonus of $250.00 a day for every day the firm cut from the allotted six months. Further evidence of Rolph's desire for haste is this incident at a board of supervisors meeting:

*Supervisor Giannini:* Mr. Mayor, after all this discussion the people would like to know when the Geary Street road will be in operation. When will it be in operation?

*The Mayor:* In six months time.

*General Chorus:* Good!

*The Mayor:* Isn't that right, Mr. Casey?

*President Casey of the Board of Public Works:* [This was the Honorable Mike Casey discussed previously.] I don't know that I want to be tied up to such an admission. Mr. Mayor, we have had in the past sad experience with contractors. I would say seven or eight months at the outside.

*The Mayor:* Can't you reduce that time two months?

*President of the Board of Works:* Well, we might make it seven months, but I would hate to be held to that.

*The Mayor:* Mr. Casey, let's have it in seven months then.

*Chorus:* Umph!

*The Mayor:* What do you think, Mr. Hunt? We want to settle this tonight. When will the road be finished?

*Assistant City Engineer Hunt* (takes off his glasses, searches the ceiling for an oracle): Ten months.

*Chorus:* ****!!!!***.[12]

The tracks actually were laid in five months' time; and despite the generous bonus, the Mahoney Brothers were able to complete the remaining 3½ miles of track for $47,000, as compared to a cost of $44,000 for only 2.1 miles of track under the day labor system.[13]

Opening ceremonies were spirited, and Rolph seemed to realize the symbolic significance of the whole affair. The *Call* described the festivities in purple prose, more suitable perhaps to a royal coronation:

> The opening of the Municipal Railway was one of the most enthusiastic celebrations in San Francisco's history and Rolph made the most of it. Rolph personified the immense relief and satisfaction of the entire city when he dropped the first nickel made in the new mint in the coin box of the first car.
>
> Electrified by a current of enthusiasm that surged through 50,000 breasts and broke forth in cheers from 50,000 throats, San Francisco's Municipal Railway sprung into action yesterday cutting with its pioneer wheels an indelible track

> across the pages of history. There was hardly any need of the trolley wire overhead. The spirit of the crowd was enough to move a battleship. From 12:30 o'clock in the afternoon when Mayor Rolph squeezed aboard the first car at Geary and Kearny Street until the car returned at two o'clock, there was one long succession of cheering, shouting, horn tooting, flower throwing, and general jubilation.[14]

By April of 1913 the Geary Street line had been successfully running from the Richmond District to the corner of Geary and Market streets, but there was considerable pressure to continue the line down Market Street to the Ferry Building. Lower Market Street, or the area from Geary Street to the Ferry Building, at that time was the busiest section of the city, and the Ferry Building was the transportation hub of the city. By skillful legal maneuvering during the preceding ten years, the United Railway had been able to prevent the municipal line from serving this busy area.

In 1901 there had been over seven private street railways operating in San Francisco. By 1902 all but three of these lines (two of whose franchise were soon to expire) had been merged with Patrick Calhoun's United Railway. Anticipating municipal ownership, the United Railway deliberately did not consolidate that part of the old Sutter Street line which ran down Market Street from the intersection of Sutter Street to the Ferry Building. The United Railway was already operating on the inner tracks, and by refusing to consolidate that section of Lower Market Street, it kept operating the obsolete horse-drawn Sutter Street Railway.[15]

A merchants' association report later described the remnants of the Sutter Street line as

> over-crowded at all times of the day and a disgrace to a modern city. People do not know that transfers are good on all lines running on Market Street and the Company takes no time to inform the public.[16]

It was the hope of the United Railway to use its control over the obsolete Sutter Street Company as a lever to force the city to exchange extra franchise privileges for the city's use of the outer tracks.[17] This policy brought Mayor Rolph and the Geary Street line to a major political crisis in the spring of 1913.

During the preceding ten years the city had been trying in the courts to cancel the Sutter Street Railway's franchise on the grounds that it was no longer fulfilling its original conditions of running from Central Avenue to the Ferry Building.

In 1911 Judge J. M. Seawell ruled in favor of the city after a very able presentation for the city by a young and heretofore little known attorney, Jesse H. Steinhart.[18] Despite this ruling, the United Railway was able to keep the horse car line running by appealing to higher courts. Their legal grounds in such an appeal were shaky, but by the spring of 1913 they had not yet exhausted the appellate facilities of the state courts, and with the added threat of appealing to the federal courts, they appeared able to keep the city line off of Lower Market Street for some time.

Early in 1913 a compromise was reached between the city and the United Railway which would allow the Sutter Street line to convert their franchise to one permitting the use of electricity. For this privilege, the Sutter Street line would combine with the United Railway and allow the city the use of its tracks on Lower Market Street. Under this compromise the city also received a number of subsidiary benefits such as the right to determine "headway" or distance between cars on the crowded tracks plus extensive transfer privileges with the United Railway.[19]

Despite the fact that this agreement would benefit both the general transportation situation, by allowing the United Railway to improve its service, and the new municipal line by allowing it to run on Lower Market Street, it met considerable labor and reform opposition. Surprisingly most of this opposition sprang from those who had formerly been the staunchest supporters of municipal ownership. The tremendous hatred of Patrick Calhoun and the United Railway, which stemmed from the 1907-8 railway strike and graft prosecutions, caused the same groups that worked so hard for the original Geary Street bonds to just as eagerly oppose the "Lower Market Street compromise."

An editorial in the *Daily News* summed up the issue in terms of a compromise with the devil:

> Think of the United Railroads SURRENDERING ANYTHING ... Every man and woman in San Francisco who is familiar with the history of the United Railroads knows that the company would not agree to joint use of the outer tracks in lower Market Street unless it realized that it would lose its appeal from Judge Seawell's decision giving the city exclusive use of the outer tracks.

> If statesmanship consists of ability to look into the future then Mayor Rolph, the Supervisors, and the City Attorney are the poorest excuse for statesmen who ever held public office. The shrewd unscrupulous financiers of the United Railway are able to keep their clutches on the outer tracks under conditions which will mean practical monopoly of the Ferry business rather than completely loose [*sic*] control of them which affirmation of Judge Seawell's decision would mean.
>
> The United Railway financiers snarl "litigation" at every turn while our spineless officials cringe and agree to a degrading dishonorable compromise. If Mayor Rolph and his supervisors want to point to a complete successful Municipal Railway on Geary Street during their term of office and say, "we did it," let them fight like men for that honor and not obtain their ends by entering into an agreement with the United Railway for which a betrayed people will bitterly censure them long after they are out of office.[20]

Ordinarily an agreement such as this would not have been placed before the voters; however Rudolph Spreckels and the Public Ownership Association exercised the newly created referendum procedure, and with a petition of five thousand signatures required the mayor to place the issue before the voters. In the past Rudolph Spreckels had been a staunch supporter of municipal ownership, and had fought bitterly against Patrick Calhoun in an attempt to have the United Railway use underground conduits rather than overhead wires. Spreckels lost this battle, but he was one of the chief financial angels behind the 1907-8 graft prosecution. The word "compromise" was not part of Spreckels' moral vocabulary. He had stood for municipal reform in 1907 when most other business leaders thought it an impossibility. Concerning this, he said, "I don't care who sneers in the beginning, or who doubts, I don't doubt. I fix my eyes on a purpose. I'm sure of the end."[21]

In the same vein, the Public Ownership Association attempted to revive San Franciscans' bitter memory of political corruption by offering a reward of $5,000 for the arrest and conviction of anyone practicing election fraud in favor of the compromise. It was assumed that such fraud could only be practiced by those favoring the compromise, and no reward was offered for information concerning fraud practiced by those opposing the agreement.[22]

Laboring groups opposed the amendment on the basis of their previous desperate and futile struggle with the United Railway. E. P. Troy played upon these memories at a speech in Washington Square Hall on April 15, 1913, when he said:

> The spectacle of San Francisco tying up with the most vicious tyrant of labor in the United States will be afforded the world if the voters support the lower Market Street Compromise April 22nd . . . The United Railway employs laborers at $1.60-$1.85 per day and pays other non-union employees in proportion . . . If the Compromise is voted all of the City's work will be done by the strike-breaking non-union hirelings of the United Railway.[23]

Rolph's approach was pragmatic rather than ideological. His goal was simply to get the city's street cars running to the Ferry Building. The Public Ownership Association invited Rolph to present his views of the compromise at a meeting of its own members on a Saturday night, April 19. It seems evident from the following letter that the mayor realized it would be largely a waste of time to address a group which viewed the compromise solely in terms of the 1907-8 strike and graft prosecution. Instead, Rolph chose to present his case in a letter addressed to the Public Ownership Association, but widely reprinted and directed in substance to the general public.

Public Ownership Association,
615 Pacific Building,
San Francisco, California
Dear Sirs:

Acknowledging your communication of April twelfth, nineteen hundred and thirteen, in which you inform me that you will accord me thirty minutes for the presentation of my views on the matter of the "Lower Market Street agreement", at Dreamland Hall, Saturday evening, April nineteenth:

Without any wish to show discourtesy to your association, I consider it wise to decline your invitation.

I believe that I can better employ this time in addressing the citizens-at-large, who wish to study the subject matter from the standpoint of benefits to the City, rather than for the purpose of maintaining a controversy.

A ratification of the lower Market Street agreement means actual public ownership of a municipal railroad to the ferry, at once. This, your people are opposing: I doubt their good faith.

The people of San Francisco have fought, for years, to establish the Geary Street Road as a fact.

Before the men, who are backing your Association financially and otherwise, thought enough of this city to register and vote, patriotic citizens were championing the Geary Street Road as a municipal highway; and, now, when the opportunity exists to establish that municipal railway down the main thoroughfare of the City, these men, who did not think enough of San Francisco to vote, have turned themselves into professional agitators to prevent this road being used and operated by the people.

The professional agitators who are backing your association, financially and otherwise, never built any roads, and never will build any: never built any waterworks: never will build any. The attitude of some of them has been like that of a dog on a country road that barks at every passing thing: they oppose everything and suggest nothing. Not only do they accomplish nothing themselves, but their sole aim and object in life seems to be, to acquire notoriety by preventing anything being done that will make San Francisco a modern, wholesome and comfortable City, furnishing every civic convenience to its inhabitants.

The time has come, in the life of this City, when there must be a division between the three classes of people—those who do something for the public good: those who talk about doing things for the public good: and, those who prevent others doing things for the public good.

The proposition, now before the people, to extend Geary Street to the ferry and the Cliff, means actual immediate public ownership and operation.

The substitute you offer is, years of litigation, coupled with agitation and speechmaking.

You cannot ride on a law-suit or on a speech.

The people want to ride on street cars.

The proposition is, to accommodate the people with a first-class City-owned street car system, and to do it *now*.

San Francisco wants physical and moral results. We are offering her these in the form of real, municipal ownership.

Your Association is offering her nothing.

We are fighting for "municipal ownership", which is such in fact.

You, while professing love for "municipal ownership", are obstructing it as a fact:

Common scolds and obstructionists are the curse of San Francisco.

* * * * * * *

Holding these views, I feel that it would be a waste of time for me to address you on April nineteenth, or at any time.

Yours truly,

The misrepresentation of the terms and effects of the agreement, so often repeated and so deliberate to my mind that the opponents to the compromise do not wish the Public to be honestly entitled.[24]

This letter was reprinted in most of the newspapers, and it drew more letters of praise and enthusiastic support than any other act during Rolph's first year in office. The following response is typical:

Dear Sir:

Hoorah for you.

I have been wondering how long you would stand for this nonsense and I cannot tell you how glad I am you have declared yourself at last. I have been so disgusted with the whole situation that I have practically quit voting but from now on I will vote on every proposition that is before me and will do so whatever lines are endorsed.

You don't know me from the side of a "sole of leather" but I am taking the liberty of addressing you in this matter that you may know you have struck the popular chord in this declaration as I am but expressing the sentiments of almost every friend I have. Go to bat with those "Scolds and Obstructionists". Give them - - - -.[25]

On April 22, 1913, the voters accepted the compromise by a three to two margin.

In this victory Rolph was jubilant. The following letter was not printed in the newspapers, nor is there any indication that it was actually sent to Spreckels.

I congratulate the city on the triumph of municipal ownership in spite of the treasonable activities of certain citizens who wear the livery of Public Ownership to serve the corporations in notwithstanding the vast sums of money expended for campaign purposes by the millionaire "angel" of the so-called Public Ownership Association. The cause of common sense and real municipal ownership has won a notable victory.

Unless the doctrinaires and millionaires who have been stabbing municipal ownership in the back find some new method of thwarting the people's will the Municipal Railway will be running to the Ferry within sixty days.

When that occurs the Municipal Railway will be assured a monumental success.

Tomorrow the contract for the extension of the tracks down Market Street from Kearny to Sansome will be signed.

I suggest that the so-called Public Ownership Association purchase one of the two horse cars which will soon be a relic of the past and use it hereafter for their headquarters.[26]

Even in defeat or perhaps especially in defeat Spreckels stuck to his lofty ethical position as evidenced by the following statement reprinted in the *Daily News:*

I prefer to stand in defeat with the splendid men and women who fight on the side of human rights, rather than have history record my activities as favoring the evil forces that are controlled by organized greed and expediency. Happily I am not sensitive to unjust criticism and will continue always to do my duty regardless of the evil interests that ever support the corrupt and greedy corporations.

I congratulate the *Daily News* and the 21,000 or more loyal men and women who yesterday voted for PRINCIPLE. I wish they might organize themselves into a working body through which to more effectively fight the cause of human rights in the future.

Rudolph Spreckels[27]

The last battle for a municipal street railway system during Rolph's first term involved transportation to the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition. This time the friends of municipal ownership were united, but so were its enemies. There was serious doubt concerning the alleged financial success of the Geary Street line, and numerous complaints about high taxes.

Early in 1913 the board of public works requested City Engineer M. M. O'Shaughnessy to submit a report on proposed extensions of the municipal railway for the 1915 Exposition. O'Shaughnessy quoted expert Bion Arnold, who estimated an average daily attendance at the exposition of thirty thousand people. There was an estimated peak attendance of two hundred and fifty thousand on one day and attendance in excess of one hundred thousand on at least twenty other days.[28]

The United Railway had previously stated that it would not invest another dollar in public transportation unless it was given more liberal franchise privileges. The people had very clearly denied the private company these privileges when they defeated the "partnership amendment," charter amendment #34 in December of 1912. The only alternative was for the city to build its own lines to the exposition. This would mean another bond issue. Property taxes had gone from $1.38 in 1899 to $2.24 in 1913, and there was considerable opposition to a further rise. Some citizens opposed spending money for railway extension at the expense of other city responsibilities.

> Here in brief is the reason why I think I shall vote against nearly all the bonds, at the coming election.
>
> Jump into your auto—come down to Howard St. bet. 6 & 7—ride down Harriet, up Russ, and then turn down Moss. and decide for yourself if *you* would vote for the expenditure of millions . . . after sixteen months battling with the city fathers to obtain decent street conditions. . . .
>
> When passing through those streets take note of the emptly flats—all new, all modern, but for many a long day prospective tenants have come as far as Howard St. given one look at the wreck and turned back and the unfortunate owner has his flat vacant for *months* all because there doesn't seem to be money enough, men enough . . . enough to have two blocks in the heart of the city (from 6 to 8) put in proper shape.[29]

The *Taxpayer* frankly voiced the opinion of those who doubted whether a two-thirds majority of citizens, presumably ne'er-do-wells, should be able to impose tax obligations upon the wealthier minority.

> It is against good public policy to permit anybody but taxpayers to vote on incurring public debt by issuing bonds . . .

> It is recognized that a bond election is a business proceeding. The people who will say whether the debt will be incurred are the people who will pay that debt . . .
>
> Bonds do not run forever. Some fine day they mature and have to be paid by the taxpayer—not by loafers at the street corners.[30]

It was a case of those with a "stake in society" versus the office holders who would benefit from the tax increase.

> DON'T FORGET that the interest of the Chamber of Commerce and the real estate men is in the welfare of the city, while the interest of the office holders is for higher taxes and a bigger political machine.[31]

The financial success of the pioneer Geary Street line was also open to question. While the city claimed a profit of $46,778.40 per month,[32] the *Chronicle* claimed to have true figures which showed a loss of $18,590.35 per month.[33] There were equally conflicting reports concerning the adequacy of the proposed lines to carry the expected crowds to the exposition, and the *Chronicle* further claimed that Engineer O'Shaughnessy had stated that the lines would not be ready until after the exposition.[34] In fact, Engineer O'Shaughnessy had stated only that the proposed facilities would be ready in time but would also be of use after the exposition.[35]

In the face of conflicting and confusing claims, Rolph chose as his field of battle a personal brand of politics which simply ignored the complex technical questions. His main goal was to contact as many voters in person as was humanly possible. His entire staff and a committee of one hundred prominent citizens were mobilized. Engineer O'Shaughnessy spoke to those groups who wished to hear the technical side. Ed Rainey, Sylvester McAtee, Eustace Cullinan, and many others carried the general argument to all parts of the city. Most important, Rolph spoke in person to innumerable groups, as evidenced by the following partial schedule:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| FRIDAY NIGHT, | Pompeian Court Hales | 7:00 o'clock |
| AUGUST 15, | Ladies Outdoor Art League | |
| | Diamond & Chenery Sts. | 9:00 " |
| | Excelsior Theatre | |
| | Mission St. nr. Onondaga | 9:45 " |
| | The mayor absolutely must attend the meeting at Excelsior Theatre. | |
| MONDAY, | Lincoln Park Improvement Club | |
| AUGUST 18, | 31st & Clement | 8:15 " |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tuesday, August 19, | Polandy Hall<br>28th & Church | 8:30 | " |
| Wednesday, August 20, | Richmond Federation<br>Peabody School | 8:15 | " |
| | Nickelodeon<br>7th & Clement Sts. | 9:00 | " |
| | Nickelodeon<br>23 & Clement | 9:15 | " |
| | Noe Valley I.C., Willopi Hall<br>24th & Castro | 9:45 | " |
| | Jean Parker School<br>Broadway & Powell | | |
| Thursday, August 21st | First M.E. Church<br>Clay & Larkin | 8:15 | " |
| | Haight St. Theatre<br>Haight & Cole | 9:15 | " |
| | Green Valley I.C.<br>Russia & Lisbon Sts. | 9:45 | " |
| Friday, August 22nd | Mannerbund Hall<br>24th & Potrero Ave. | 9:45 | " |
| | California Club | 9:30 | " |
| | Puckott's Dancing Academy | 8:30 | " |

After speaking, it was the Mayor's habit to request a verbal reaction to his speech. The answer was usually in the affirmative, as when he asked the young dancers at Puckott's if they would vote YES on the bonds, and a hearty "we will" was the reply.[36]

On August 15 Rolph participated in a debate with R. M. J. Armstrong in Hales Pompeian Court. Although Armstrong tried to emphasize the fact that the bond issue might not provide enough cars to carry the proposed crowds to the exposition, Rolph defined the issue as one of "optimism vs. gloom," and the meeting ended with three cheers for the bonds.[37]

In strictly literal terms a municipal railway is owned by those who ride it, but it is seldom regarded in this light. Rolph tried to combine his personal appearance with a feeling of actual personal ownership on the part of the voters.[38]

> I want to speak to you tonight as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Geary Street Municipal Railway and you as the stockholders. As in Private Concerns it is right that the stockholders should meet occasionally with the directors to see how the property is being handled.[39]

Perhaps the best example of Rolph's personal campaigning is this incident which occurred in a vacant lot shortly before the election.

> MAYOR MAKES BOYS CONVERT TO BONDS
>
> First gives Baseball Crowd to play in vacant lot.
>
> When Mayor Rolph attended the bond meeting at the College Hill Improvement Association headquarters Wednesday he did more than make friends for the Municipal Railway. He found a throng of athletic young boys awaiting him.
>
> "We want to play baseball in that lot there," said the spokesman, "an' the cops won't let us."
>
> "How about the owner," the Mayor asked.
>
> "No kick from him at all," said the boys, "It's only the cops."
>
> "We'll see if we can fix it," said the mayor. So he wrote on one of his cards a request for the officer on the beat to let the boys play in the lot if the owner didn't object.
>
> After the boys had cheered the Mayor the latter spoke up.
>
> "Three for the bonds."
>
> "Sure," shouted the Yell Leader, and again the hillside echoed.
>
> In the final outcome the bonds won by 51,644 to 13,720.[40]

As America's first full length, municipally owned railway, the Geary Street line and later extensions were for their time radical experiments. Those responsible for the line's early construction and administration had to overcome many hazards, including the inefficiency of the "day labor system," the over-zealousness of such friends of municipal ownership as Rudolph Spreckels and the unstinting opposition of its enemies such as Patrick Calhoun and the *Chronicle*. One of the reasons for the experiment's survival and success was Mayor Rolph's ability to translate complex technical issues into a warm, human brand of politics, a type of politics which united his supporters and disarmed his enemies.

## NOTES

1. San Francisco *Examiner,* December 29, 1912, col. 1, p. 1.
2. M. M. O'Shaughnessy, *The Municipal Railway of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1921), p. 14.
3. San Francisco *Examiner,* December 29, 1912, cols. 3-7, p. 70.
4. Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley, 1952), p. 241.
5. San Francisco *Examiner,* December 29, 1912, cols. 3-7, p. 70.
6. Editorial in the San Francisco *Call,* January 1, 1910, cols. 1-2, p. 14.
7. Letter from a Union Labor man to Rolph, March 2, 1912. This letter and

all succeeding letters are from the James Rolph, Jr., Collection at the California Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

8. Letter from a man who wants work to Rolph, March 29, 1912.

9. Letter from Hillkson to Rolph, March 13, 1912.

10. *Report of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce* (San Francisco, 1911), p. 10.

11. San Francisco *Call*, February 9, 1912, col. 1, p. 1.

12. San Francisco *Call*, March 9, 1912, col. 1, p. 17.

13. San Francisco *Examiner*, December 29, 1912, col. 5. *Also see* Footnote 10.

14. San Francisco *Call*, December 29, 1912, col. 7, p. 17.

15. People of the State of California *ex rel* D. S. O'Brien *vs.* Sutter Street Railway, Superior Court, State of California, in San Francisco January 10, 1912, Findings of Fact, p. 11.

16. *Report on the Operation of the Street Railroad Lines of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1910), p. 14.

17. People *vs.* Sutter Street Railway, Pleadings of the Plaintiff, p. 11.

18. People *vs.* Sutter Street Railway, Conclusions of Law, pp. 14-15.

19. Board of Election Commissioners, City and County of San Francisco, *Propositions Numbers One and Two to be Submitted, April 22, 1913* (San Francisco, 1913).

20. Editorial in the San Francisco *Daily News*, April 21, 1913, cols. 1-3, p. 5.

21. Lincoln Steffens, *The Upbuilders* (New York, 1909).

22. Editorial in the San Francisco *Daily News*, April 21, 1913, cols. 1-3, p. 5.

23. San Francisco *Daily News*, April 16, 1913, cols. 1-3, p. 2.

24. Rolph to Public Ownership Association, April 15, 1913.

25. Letter from H. D. Dietrich to Rolph, April 23, 1913.

26. From the Rolph Collection, April, 1913.

27. San Francisco *Daily News*, April 23, 1913, col. 4, p. 2.

28. M. M. O'Shaughnessy, *Report on Extensions of Principal Railway to Provide Transportation for the Panama Pacific Exposition* (San Francisco, 1913), p. 3.

29. Letter from a disheartened, disgusted landlord to Rolph, Dec. 16, 1912.

30. *Taxpayer*, July, 1913, col. 2, p. 2.

31. San Francisco *Chronicle*, August 22, 1913, col. 3, p. 11.

32. San Francisco *Examiner*, August 3, 1913, col. 8, p. 1.

33. San Francisco *Chronicle*, August 14, 1913, cols. 2-4, p. 11.

34. San Francisco *Chronicle*, May 31, 1913, col. 1, p. 1.

35. M. M. O'Shaughnessy, *Report on Extension of Municipal Railway*, p. 3.

36. San Francisco *Examiner*, August 23, 1913, col. 1, p. 3.

37. San Francisco *Examiner*, August 16, 1913, col. 1, p. 3.

38. San Francisco *Examiner*, August 15, 1913, col. 3, p. 2.

39. *Ibid.*

40. San Francisco *Examiner*, August 27, 1913, cols. 6-7, p. 1.

# The French Attitude in California During the Civil War Decade

### *By* A. P. Nasatir

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Strangely enough, while other states of the Union were taking definite attitudes towards the approaching Civil War, California, in 1856, seemed the least agitated over the question of slavery and secession. It was the belief of Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, French vice consul in California, writing about the heated election of that year, that this indifference was due to isolation. Moerenhout wrote to the minister of foreign affairs that the separation of the Union or the maintenance of the Union would affect California very little either way. In fact, he believed that it was quite probable that should civil war break out between the North and the South, California would continue peacefully the exploitation of its mines and it numerous other resources, and might venture its independence if the separation of the states was proclaimed.

Since the discovery of gold, California boasted a large number of Frenchmen in her midst. The bulk of these French people came on ships of the various companies that advertised fantastic schemes for exploiting the mines. Individual and organized immigration brought some twenty-five thousand Frenchmen to California, who spread everywhere and contributed to many fields of endeavor, including filibustering in Mexico.

In this pre-Civil War period France was represented by various consuls in San Francisco and by one vice consul in Los Angeles. In general

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these consular officials were an unusual group of capable reporters who kept France well informed. Though of unequal temperament, they were all zealous Frenchmen, eager to render service to France and to protect the interests of their country. Moreover, they also had at least one organ of publicity that was in capable hands, *L'Echo du Pacifique,* edited and owned by Etienne Derbec.

It would therefore seem worthwhile to run through the correspondence of those representatives of France during the decade of the Civil War period and to see if we cannot arrive at some of the unusual story of the attitude of the French in California. Quite naturally, these representatives carefully prepared commercial reports and faithfully reported events, elections, speeches, and movements. Such, indeed, is the case at the end of the decade of 1850's when Frederic Gautier was consul at San Francisco and Moerenhout was vice consul at Los Angeles.

Early in 1859 Gautier reported to Foreign Minister Alexander Walewski that the press and population of California was preoccupied both with taking possession, or establishing a protectorate, over a portion of Mexico, and with sending troops to the Colorado to protect southern mail routes. The population of California and of the United States was looking for means to occupy Mexico, especially Sonora and Chihuahua. Newspapers begged for a protectorate, for confiscation or annexation, due to the weakness of the "sick man" of Mexico. Mexico was in disorder; protection of creditors, and of investments, as well as safeguards against Indian raids were necessary. Gautier gave several views and opinions on the problem of establishing a United States protectorate over Mexico. Mining companies were organized with armed men on the frontier to exploit Sonora and Chihuahua. In fact it was reported by him on February 5, 1859, that it was important to France to have influence to counterbalance that of the United States, England, and Russia in Mexican affairs. There was need for France to curb the exorbitant pretentions of the United States on its neighbor's interior. Anarchy existed in Mexico, and France had an opportunity to purchase Sonora and Lower California with its mines and resources probably for $100,000,000. In order to accomplish these things France needed to select a reliable person with will power, to wait for the opportune time in Mexico, and to maintain absolute secrecy.

On February 14, 1859, the San Francisco *Herald,* organ of the Democratic party supporting President Buchanan, announced, as news from England, that there was a question of dividing Mexico among France, England, United States, and Spain. The *Herald* maintained that the division of Mexico was absurd, and affirmed that any European occupation of parts of Mexico would inevitably lead to war. The newspaper also stated that the British wanted to surround the United States and to obtain Lower California and that the French would like to seize the Sandwich Islands, part of Central America, and a large portion of Mexico. Such activities, continued the *Herald*, would force the United States to have a standing army of some 300,000 and a fleet of 250 naval vessels and that therefore Americans could say good-by to the republican form of government and to all free institutions.

When the United States Senate rejected the Pacific Railroad project, Gautier reported on February 28, 1859, that California was discontented—even violent in her objections—and made bitter complaints threatening the unity of the Confederation. Indeed, several recommended a union of California, Oregon, Washington, Carson Valley, and even Lower California and Sonora—a revival of the Pacific Republic. According to Gautier, it was the "mighty dollar" in California that dominated and governed everything. It could buy anything. So angered was Gautier that he even analyzed the pros and cons of California seceding from the Union on account of the Congressional refusal to pass the Pacific Railroad legislation. The activities of the American filibuster William Walker were carefully watched and reported. Gautier kept the French legation in Washington informed about Walker's activities because he feared that the Washington administration was made up of Southern sympathizers who sided with Walker's activities. He also noted that Ignacio Pesqueira and President Juárez would not welcome Walker in Lower California and that the former had asked for munitions from San Francisco, some of which were sent to him for fear that Walker might invade that area.

Meanwhile, the keen and competent reporter, Moerenhout, was authorized to move from Monterey to the growing area of Los Angeles, where on October 29, 1859, he hoisted France's flag over the first French consulate in Southern California. He reported minutely on the legislation passed by the California legislature authorizing the division of the state; but he observed that since arriving in Los Angeles, he learned that the people were not interested in establishing a slave state. Very closely he followed the activities in the Southland, and especially in Lower California and Sonora. Earlier he had observed that Lower California was the haunt of robbers and assassins, but that he could have at his disposition lands and mines in that area if he wished to form a French colony in a port town in Lower California—which indeed would be of importance to France and for which project he would need good Frenchmen. Yet at all times Moerenhout feared that Sonora, if not prevented early, would at some time in the future belong to the United States.

Moerenhout carefully analyzed the proposed division of the state of California. The legislature voted to form a territory, or state, out of the coast counties—from San Luis Obispo to San Diego—with Los Angeles intended as the capital. Moerenhout believed that the real purpose was to add Arizona and parts of New Mexico, areas not having ports. He observed those who favored the division and those who opposed it. The former included the Spaniards—landowners, rancheros, farmers—and the Southerners coming from the slave states—the politicians and office seekers. The Southland, he maintained, was separated by mountains from the north and therefore had profited little from the gold rush. Moreover, it had a good port in San Diego and could make another at San Pedro. There were twenty-one thousand whites in Southern California; and, if there were no additions from Arizona and Sonora, then the population would be from the Northern states, and from France and Europe. He singled out the advantages of the United States having Lower California, which would automatically give it command of the coast and ports, and thereby force Sonora into the United States.

On November 30, 1860, Gautier discussed the election in which Lincoln received a small plurality, due chiefly to the divisions in the Democratic party. Despite the discontent of the divided Democrats, said Gautier, there was no question of secession in California; and, if secession did take place in several states of the South, California would remain with the Union. He noted that several newspapers spoke of a Republic of the Pacific, which had no favor with the masses and which "will not be carried for many years," if ever. The legislature was Douglasite, and the governor would not be reëlected. Frémont, Gautier said, was influential, and wanted to be minister to France; in fact, he had already sent his family to France and had gone to Washington.

During the first year of the Civil War, Gautier discussed the twelfth session of the legislature, which was then in session and which had become very divided on the subject of secession. It was his belief that the people of California had come from everywhere, that the North had a majority; and that the active South had a respectable minority which was intelligent and energetic. Gautier said there were even vague rumors about an attempted coup by the Southerners to capture federal forts and establishments—the rumors went deeper, relating that the Southerners had a constitution and a government ready for a Pacific Republic. Thus far, however, the masses of the people were indifferent and not stirred up.

The question that was constantly discussed was: If the Union was broken, which side would California join? There were those who felt that because the federal government had already spent enormous sums in California (in six years it spent eighteen to twenty million dollars for military purposes, postal administration, customs, etc.), that because the new state could not support a separate government (barely having more than one-half million inhabitants, including the Chinese and Indians), and that because it would have no navy to protect its coast and commerce—for these reasons they felt that the probability of an independent state was unlikely. The objective of the Southerners was to prevent California from allying with the North and thus to weaken the North, and to gain time in the hope of attaching the country in the interests of the South. Gautier seriously considered the effects of federal spending in California, the fact that California's commerce was with the North, and California's psychological opposition to slavery—all these considerations caused Gautier to conclude that California would not secede from the Union and indeed that the legislature would vote that way. The chief difficulty was California's Senator Gwin who was being accused of being a traitor to the interests of the state. The election of Douglasite James A. MacDougall as U. S. Senator, a supporter of the Lincoln administration, was a triumph for the Unionist party and a defeat for the Breckinridge Democrats affiliated with the South. California was opposed to secession. Gautier, however, said that California would be the last state to give an opinion on secession. In fact the California senate had voted for the Crittenden proposal, but the assembly smothered it.

At this point, on April 30, 1861, Gautier left for a long postponed holiday, and Antoine Forest took over the San Francisco consulate. Writing after the fighting had begun—after the Battle of Bull Run—Forest spoke of the grave and disquieting character of the news: he felt there was no hope of any turning back of the North or of the South. Despite alarming rumors circulating, the Unionist sentiment was strong in San Francisco and was steadily increasing in the interior of California. With few exceptions the press was against secession. When news came of the fall of Fort Sumter and of Lincoln's call to arms, excitement ran high in San Francisco. People gathered in the streets, plans were proposed, but a firm attitude was taken by the authorities. General Edwin A. Sumner replaced General Albert S. Johnston, of secessionist tendencies, and greatly strengthened the garrisons. Though these steps had a positive effect on the public, the commercial leaders in San Francisco became alarmed when they learned that corsairs operating with letters of marque were cruising in the Gulf of Mexico in order to intercept steamship correspondence via Panama with San Francisco. Added to this, came rumors of privateers in the Pacific who were awaiting letters of marque from President Davis.

There was a lively discussion as to the nature and extent of help which California could give to the federal government. The Unionists wanted military aid sent to the North. The Secessionists argued that because of California's distance from the war, she should remain neutral. There also existed a third opinion: conciliation. This was voiced by the Breckinridge party which asked Lincoln to limit the calling of troops to the East, to use the troops in California, but to give the militia the duty of guarding and defending forts and federal property in California.

By this time the Civil War had brought the French government squarely to the point of making its official position clear. This was done by the Paris Foreign Office in a circular dated May 16, 1861. "The French government regrets events, and that the United States is divided with war declared between the North and the South. France will stay out of the war, though it may furnish conciliation. . . ." France's position was one of neutrality; and as soon as war broke out, the French consuls in the United States were asked to occupy themselves with the interests of French nationals, especially in regard to two matters: (1) liberty of merchandise under neutral flag; (2) neutral merchandise under enemy flag, with the sole exception of contraband. The Foreign Office charged the minister at Washington and the French consul at New Orleans to obtain from Presidents Lincoln and Davis formal assurances on both points—in effect to acknowledge neutral commerce. As France gave instructions to her consuls, England did likewise: "I am imposing extreme prudence on you. Be careful not to mix in; hold yourself in great reserve." The French government had to study in detail the matter of recognition—"we cannot treat them other than as belligerents"—the French official position being that of strict neutrality. France would hold each side responsible for damage to French nationals.

Another problem which arose at the same time was the recruitment of Frenchmen in the armies of both belligerents. This led to formal orders of the French government to its representatives to uphold strict neutrality and to its French nationals to abstain from participation. Consuls were ordered to claim exemption for all French who are not naturalized citizens of the United States—the only exception being their use for local security only.

On June 16, 1861, Forest reported that California was tranquil—faithful to the Union. In San Francisco there was formed a regiment of volunteers, which, when full, would offer its services to the central government. So far, the United States had made no requisition of troops to the state of California, and the opinion existed that none would be made. But the citizens were organized militarily: militias were formed and equipped. Two companies of such militia were composed of Frenchmen who joined over the protests of the French consul. The volunteers were warned that they were violating French law and the principle of neutrality, and that they would lose their right to the protection of the French government. As the result of these warnings, Forest wrote later in 1861, they had seen the light and were about to dissolve. "Authorities here in California do not require any military service of foreigners," said Forest. The French merchants, as well as other San Francisco commercial interests, lessened their fears of corsairs when General Sumner armed and sent a steamship to cruise along the Pacific Coast from Mexico to Puget Sound, while the United States Pacific Squadron protected navigation between Acapulco and Panama.

Concerning politics and party nomination conventions, the consul wrote that the Douglasites were solidly Unionist and that the Breckinridge Democrats stated that secession was an inherent right and that the war on the part of the North was unconstitutional. About two-thirds of California was for the North. The defeats of the North, however, caused heavy taxes and higher import duties (Morrill Act) which despite the electoral victory of the Republicans was causing a schism among the Unionists and a reaction in public opinion. On the eve of the election the Secessionists appeared as the apostles of peace, but it was discovered that a large organization of Secessionists existed throughout the state. Home Guards—like vigilante committees—were organized. Fears of civil war in California appeared in the newspapers, and rumors of a Confederate invasion of Arizona travelled. General Edwin A. Sumner took steps to bolster the troops, and President Lincoln requisitioned fifteen hundred men to protect the Overland mail and five thousand to act against Texas. This news was received cooly in California. Volunteers were slow to enlist, and resisted entering the service of the federal government, except to assure public tranquility.

On September 1 and again on November 1, 1861, Moerenhout reported at length. He noted that demonstrations were held in favor of the Union and that the outbreak of war produced very little excitement in Los Angeles. In his thorough manner, Moerenhout gave his analysis of the causes and background. California, he said, suffered less than other states from the dissensions between the North and the South; it was tranquil and quite indifferent to events disrupting the United States. The Douglas faction of Democrats joined the Republicans in favor of the Union; but John G. Downey, a Douglas Democrat and a good administrator, refused to take part in the San Francisco Union demonstrations.

Moerenhout reiterated the belief that California could take only a surface part in the war; it would be difficult for the state to choose if the Union were dissolved; and it was to be remembered that California was mainly agricultural and mineral in her wealth. There was, he said, a small majority in favor of the North, a minority for the South, and a numerous foreign population. Insofar as public opinion went in Southern California, Moerenhout told of the growing complaints, especially by Southern Californians: business was stagnating because it was impossible to sell cattle, cereals, and fruits, and also because it was becoming increasingly difficult to ship products to San Francisco which was its only market. The freight costs were prohibitive, there were no railroads, and the war boosted the taxes sky high. San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Los Angeles voted overwhelmingly for the Secessionist Breckinridge ticket, *not* as a vote for the South, but rather as an expression of discontent with Northern California.

Despite the vote, there was *no* idea of revolt in Southern California, nor was there any doubt of its remaining in the Union. The only cause for an uprising would be a Confederate Army invasion of California. If this occurred the only help that the Southerners could get in Southern California would be about 300-400 Southerners, 300-400 squatters, and 300-400 vagabonds and brigands who infested mines and isolated settlements. It was brigandage and robbery that gave rise to rumors of secession. Moerenhout wrote with assurance that there was nothing to fear from Southern California. At no time did Moerenhout believe that California could, or would, be conquered by a Secessionist army: nature helped to defend this frontier state by solid mountains, vast deserts, and a powerful sea.

On January 27, 1862, Forest reported to Foreign Minister Thouvenel concerning the activities of the opening of the Thirteenth California Legislature in which Republicans dominated both houses. While proclaiming itself Unionist, the state gave only passive aid to the North and held itself aloof from the war. Despite the federal government's appeal for aid (it had asked for 6500 recruits) California had only recruited 4500, and had not raised the money for the loan that was requested, although money was plentiful in the state.

The arrival of French ships in San Francisco had a wholesome and buoyant effect upon the population. Thus, on July 31, Forest wrote of the arrival of the French frigate *La Bayonnaise* from Mazatlán and of its departure for Acapulco. French merchants doing business in Mexico lost many fears they had been harboring. The cruising of *La Bayonnaise* and of other French ships on Mexico's Pacific coast was to protect French nationals and property, especially since the local governor of Mazatlán had cancelled the exequatur of the French consul there and had proclaimed martial law. Other visits of French war vessels to San Francisco also produced better feeling among California's French.

The critical situation of French citizens in Mexico, especially on the Pacific Coast, did not lessen. At best, it was difficult to obtain accurate information; this situation was not helped by the correspondents of the San Francisco papers in Mexico who were hostile to France.

On December 19, 1862, Forest reported that agents of the Juárez government had arrived in California to purchase arms and munitions and that the Mexican consul had received letters of marque which caused serious fears to the French commerce in California. Forest took measures to watch the movements of the Juárez agents and to frustrate them, though as consul he had to, and he did, use caution and diplomacy. He was aware of the blind and violent animosity that had been aroused in the Americas by the French expedition to Mexico. He was not sure of the position of the United States; but he believed that there was a flow of arms going to Mexico, and that Mexican agents obtained money and were going to arm and send two corsairs to capture French vessels. In order to calm the fear of French commerce and to show that France was protecting her nationals, Forest wanted the French Admiral Bouet to appear in San Francisco and obtain his supplies there, which he could purchase as cheaply, if not at a better price, than at Callao and Valparaíso. Forest asked the United States collector of customs at San Francisco to strictly enforce the neutrality laws. In this Collector Rankin promised to use all legal means to stop contraband and war materials from leaving California for Mexico.

From Southern California Moerenhout reported on April 5, 1862, that quiet reigned and that for the time being no military corps would be formed. He also related that the Federals stopped the circulation of the Los Angeles *Star*, that federal soldiers were being supplanted by volunteers, and that there was fear of an attack from Texas. Moerenhout also told of a project for invading Sonora that had been announced in California newspapers. In fact, Juárez and the United States government had agreed to permit United States soldiers to land at Guaymas, and to cross Sonora by land in order to attack Texas Confederates. The expedition had been instigated by Frémont and suggested also by General George Wright. He recalled the various means used by the United States to obtain possession of Mexican territory: filibusters (which had a bad effect), mortgages, surveys, right of passage, and privilege to build railroads. These, said Moerenhout, were honest means before provoking a quarrel and the use of force.

In 1863 from the French consul at New Orleans came word of the sale of mules for the French Army in Mexico, and of expulsion of the French consul at Galveston by the Confederacy, thus indicating a hatred for the French. From the French consul at Richmond came the report that the effect of the French successes in Mexico were well accepted in the South where southern aristocrats gave evidence of monarchical tendencies. This topic was also discussed by the French consul at Charleston in 1864. From the New York French consulate came word, in giving an account of Seward's policy, of fear of trouble with France over Mexico.

In March 20, 1863, Forest reported on the arrival of more French naval vessels on the Mexican coast to intercept ships going to Mexican Pacific ports. The visit of the French corvette *Cornelie* reassured French commerce. In the same year of 1863, Forest reported in detail to Minister Mercier at Washington concerning the vessel *Chapman.* This ship, he said, was part of a Secessionist plot to seize arsenals; however the crew was arrested, as arms and letters of marque from President Davis were found on it. Forest concluded that it was easy in San Francisco to evade the surveillance of the collector of customs, and he stated that only blockade would stop contraband. A secret enquiry was engaged in this case of piracy, and given full coverage in the press.

In the meantime, Gautier had returned and taken over the consulate. On June 14 and on July 2, 1863, he reported the visit of the French vessel, *Louis-Gaveau,* loaded with arms, headed for Mexico. What happened in this case is unknown, for the French Foreign Office withdrew this correspondence and placed it in a special dossier.

By August 25, 1863, the French Empire in Mexico was established. This caused considerable trouble to both the French people and government agents in California and elsewhere in the United States. With the natural exception of the *Echo du Pacifique,* all the San Francisco newspapers wrote in bitter hostility concerning the French monarchy in Mexico. In fact opposition to the French regime in Mexico was so keen that Gautier spoke of the probability of war between France and the United States. Reporting the American newspapers' accounts, Gautier related that the press stated that the United States must uphold the Monroe Doctrine and not permit a monarch under European control in the Americas and that France's recognition of the South also added fuel to the flame. The United States, he further reported, strengthened San Francisco with war vessels; troops on the Mexican frontier were reinforced; and French merchants in San Francisco were growing fearful.

On September 26 Gautier discussed the draft law and how this further disquieted the French in California. Since Gautier thought that it would be too expensive to send California recruits to New York, they would probably be used to defend the frontier, and perhaps drive the French from Mexico, since hostility to France was largely due to French intervention in Mexico.

Even more serious, on October 26, Gautier reported on a company, founded in California, which had obtained a concession of land privileges in Lower California. It was organized by J. P. Leese, was called the Lower California Cosmopolitan Colonial Company, and was the recipient of privileges of pearl fishing, of exploitation of all salines, of obtaining a port on the Pacific, and of importing settlers. Though not quite positive about the reliability of his informant's sources, Gautier was deeply impressed with the importance of this news which he dispatched with urgent haste to Washington. A keen, efficient reporter, Gautier sent this news as he did other news—he seldom mentioned names and, while he sent many newspaper clippings, he avoided giving the names of the papers themselves.

On January 1, 1864, there was a change in the San Francisco consulate. Gautier was sent to Quebec, and his successor was Charles Ferdinand Cazotte. The new consul was not only an active reporter, but his sharp eye kept a firm vigilance everywhere. On January 15, not quite two weeks after he took over from Gautier, Cazotte reported that the collector of customs received orders from Washington to stop all arms shipments to Mexico. The *Hermine*, loaded with arms for Mexico, was stopped. But complications arose when the merchants and miners insisted that powder needed for mining in Lower California and Sonora was permissible and legitimate. They, however, were trying to get around the United States regulations, as they were shipping from San Francisco to Mexico by way of Victoria, British Columbia. Cazotte watched carefully, and acted in a capacity he thought best. He informed Washington and warned the vice consul at Victoria to watch carefully. He used money to pay secret agents, because the collector of customs was not active enough for him. One of Cazotte's best informants was San Francisco Chief of Police Burke, who took money from him and aided in the seizure of the *John L. Stephens*. This method had the approval of the Paris Foreign Office, which opened up a credit for Cazotte to use in such affairs. Cazotte said, "My agents will not serve long for mere good words." He used the effective weapon of money. He paid 3000 francs to pay agents to stop the shipment of arms and contraband to Mexico. He went ahead with his work despite the insults hurled at him by the *Voz de México*. To circumvent what Cazotte thought was laxity on the part of the United States customs officials, he sent lists of vessels leaving San Francisco for Mexican ports to the French Admiral and to French vessels on the Mexican Pacific Coast to stop.

On June 10, 1864, Mexican General Plácido Vega arrived in San Francisco to buy arms for Juárez; he was granted permission to send boats and issue letters of marque. Cazotte watched these movements and advised the French naval commanders to make arrests. Overtures were made to Vega and to Mexican Consul Rodríguez to change their loyalty to Maximilian's side. Cazotte also mentioned that he was on good terms with the officials, local and federal, despite the Civil War. He felt that should he be successful in converting Vega and Rodríguez, the opposition would be weakened. But he urged the need for the French to occupy Mazatlán, for that would put an end to diatribes in the American press against the French in Mexico. Cazotte's efforts to convert Vega and Rodríguez were approved by the Paris Foreign Office. Few things escaped Cazotte's eagle eye, and during 1864 seizures were made of at least four vessels and large amounts of equipment. Cazotte obtained secret accounts of purchases of arms made by the Juárist agents and where they warehoused and falsely labeled. Many seizures and arrests were made by the authorities based on Cazotte's activities and information.

On October 21 Cazotte discussed elections, during which there were demonstrations of the Club Hispano Americano (formed by Mexicans). The club's motto was "Death to Napoleon III; death to the French; death to Maximilian; Viva Juárez!" Outbreaks occurred in which insults were paid to Cazotte. The latter protested to the mayor and to the chief of police to stop these scandalous scenes. A Frenchman was seriously wounded, but Cazotte did not wish to openly prosecute, for that would give the affair open publicity. Instead a civil suit was instituted, and Cazotte paid the attorney's fee. The demonstrator was fined. On October 27 Paris informed Cazotte that five steamships were preparing to "faire la course" in Peru and San Francisco, two in Peru and three in San Francisco. It was their plan to commence their sail in a regular manner; but once on the high seas they would fly the Mexican flag, they would have letters of marque, and they would act as pirates against French vessels.

On December 21 a strange situation arose, and once more Cazotte made a detailed report. Félix Ramírez, a young Mexican, was sent to San Francisco to purchase arms for Maximilian. Cazotte, however, opposed him, as he had opposed Vega. Up to that time he, said Cazotte, had been responsible for the seizure of fourteen hundred guns and a great deal of equipment. He further suspended Ramírez' mission, a move that received Paris' approval. By that time the French flag was slowly disappearing from the Pacific.

Meanwhile, Moerenhout did his reporting. He spoke of the general discontent in California. They were tired, he said, of the war. On the Civil War he wrote a discourse; on the complaints against the French and the English, he discussed the expedition to Mexico and the blow to the Monroe Doctrine. He felt that eventually a war would break out with the United States on one side and France and England on the other. He warned France that one way to prevent war was not to recognize or give aid to the South. On Christmas Day, 1864, he wrote about the elections and the hatred toward the French, because of their intervention in Mexico. The French in Los Angeles were deeply disturbed when the Republicans permitted the Mexican population to demonstrate, shouting "Death to the French." Though numerous, the Democrats in Los Angeles were discouraged, and it was rumored that they would go to Mexico under the Empire if peace were established there.

In 1865 news items flew fast, the New York *Times* printed accounts that Maximilian had granted the northern provinces of Mexico to Napoleon III, and had appointed the Southerner Gwin as governor-general. It was said that another Southerner, General Kirby Smith, would join Maximilian's army in Mexico and that Gwin visited Napoleon. It was Gwin's project to bring a rush of people from California and from the South. To counteract this, General McDowell, who was in charge at San Francisco, ordered strict neutrality and the stopping of all troops and arms crossing the border.

Cazotte, who once again was praised for his careful observations, wrote on January 19, 1865, that Vega had been charged by Juárez to issue letters of marque against French commerce, but that he had no funds. United States officials, like the consul himself, were on the alert, and stopped all suspicious boats from leaving San Francisco. Major General Irwin McDowell watched emigration closely; no one was allowed to leave for Mexico unless his objective was peaceful. McDowell was fearful of the rabid Southerner Gwin in Sonora, and he was suspicious of any immigrant assemblage in Sonora and of the possibility of attack. A short flurry of tempers was raised when the United States forbade the export of hay from California, which the French used for their troops occupying Pacific Coast areas in Mexico. As a result the decree was revoked.

When news came of Lee's surrender, Cazotte made an elaborate report in a letter of April 12, 1865. Since the surrender most of San Francisco newspapers were arousing public opinion against France. There was much discussion in cafes and saloons concerning the violation of the Monroe Doctrine. As a result, Cazotte urged that it was imperative to drive Juárez from the frontiers and from Acapulco, an important Juárist center for smuggling and dissemination of propaganda. Cazotte further feared that the United States might intervene and upset the Mexican Empire. French successes, the occupation of Mazatlán, and the good measures of Maximilian in Mexico would strengthen the Empire. He had also reported that Brigadier General Mason had been sent to Arizona to prevent complications from arising from the proximity of the French advance posts when Napoleon's troops would occupy Sonora.

It is undoubtedly true that at the end of the Civil War the position of the French in California became much more precarious, and that Cazotte's job required a great deal more work and planning. The changed attitude on the part of the United States government made his task of watching the activities of the Juárist agents in California a very difficult and complicated one. But even worse was the effect of Lincoln's assassination. The San Francisco newspapers heralded the death news on the afternoon of April 16, and almost immediately mobs collected and destroyed a number of newspaper presses. Derbec's *Echo du Pacifique* was saved from mob violence only because of the timely presence and efforts of Cazotte's friend, Chief of Police Burke, and the arrival of McDowell and troops, and the fact that the *Echo* occupied the top floor of the *Alta California* building.

Continued hardships became the lot of Cazotte. He expressed his regrets and sympathies to the federal government, he attended the funeral ceremonies for Lincoln, but he failed in his attempt to keep the *Echo du Pacifique* alive. McDowell closed the circulation of the paper, leaving Cazotte without his one good outlet of publicity. Though unharmed physically, editor Derbec watched his years of labor destroyed when United States troops took over his presses and closed the shop of the *Echo* for some three weeks. His type was destroyed, his offices filthied, and the future publication of the paper under the name of *Echo du Pacifique* was prohibited. In May, Derbec had to begin over again from scratch. He used the name *Courrieur de San Francisco*, but this paper did not equal his financially successful and influential *Echo du Pacifique*. Even the visit of Admiral Mazères did not make up for this severe setback.

At this point Juárist agents became more active in San Francisco. They had two newspapers, and the Federal law relaxed in their favor, permitting shipments of arms and contraband on regular ships. More and more Cazotte had to rely upon his personal and French resources. He tried, but failed, to get McDowell to permit the reopening of the *Echo*, which had never ceased to sustain the interests of France in the Pacific. Meanwhile, Derbec tried hard to "refute false rumors which ill-will is spreading here." Admiral Mazères began to take steps to stop contraband. He believed the best way would be either to blockade or to capture Acapulco, but the French army was busy elsewhere.

Bemoaning the great loss of the *Echo*, on May 17, 1866, Cazotte wrote in detail to the Foreign Office concerning the recruiting activities of Vega in San Francisco. With increased vigilance, Cazotte had his "spy," Chief Burke, closely watch Vega. This seemed more necessary than ever because the federal government would not stop shipments of arms to Mexico; in fact the United States had lifted its ban on the export of armaments to that nation. With the end of the Civil War the federal government no longer feared any aid coming to the South. Cazotte felt that the only effective way he had of stopping aid from reaching the Juárists in Mexico was to inform the French naval commanders of all ships leaving San Francisco. But the problem lay in Mexico's large, extensive coastline. On May 24 Cazotte wrote that his paid agents had informed him that recruits were getting ready to sail on the *Brontes*. He finally had to complain to United States District Attorney Delos Lake to have this vessel stopped. Burke's actions greatly aided in obtaining the evidence without which Lake refused to take action. The *Brontes* case was widely publicized and proved Cazotte right. General George Wright ordered General Richard Drum to preserve neutrality as long as the United States was at peace with France and the Republic of Mexico, to stop recruiting, and not to permit any armed bodies to leave San Francisco. At this stage the press was writing angry diatribes against French intervention in Mexico, and public opinion was anything but favorable for the French. It was charged that Vega had distributed over $4000 to the San Francisco press for this attitude, and Cazotte maintained that such articles in newspapers cost money, especially in a country where "money is one of the most powerful *mobiles*."

Vega had set up several recruiting places on the pretext of colonization. In fact, he had been appointed by Juárez to recruit as many men as possible in California, granting them bounties and land. He even recruited in San Quentin Prison.

Sympathizers for Mexico held mass meetings in San Francisco. At one demonstration two thousand were present. Everywhere there was an intense hostility towards the French intervention in Mexico—"Maximilian must leave Mexico." On June 16 Cazotte wrote that not only were the agents of Juárez active and exciting public opinion in their favor, but even General Wright, the American commandant, gave a pro-Juárez and anti-French speech. To partially counteract the hostile press diatribes and public opinion, Cazotte ostentatiously celebrated the Napoleon III's fête on August 15 with a solemn mass and a costly ball. This he did in order to offset the activities of the Juárist generals, Ochoa and Vega. The French foreign minister quickly approved and ordered payment of the expenditure incurred.

Meanwhile Vega's recruiting began to reach the stage of readiness, and two fully organized expeditions were ready to leave on July 13 and 23. Cazotte informed Admiral Mazères of this event. He never stopped being a keen eyed observer and the French Foreign Office commended Cazotte for his zeal and surveillance of Juárista agents. Cazotte wisely remarked that as long as Guerrero and Lower California were not in French hands, the United States would not recognize Emperor Maximilian. The French in fact did occupy Acapulco, and Manuel Guillén represented the Maximilian government as its vice consul in San Francisco. Under this new situation, more strongly than ever, Cazotte argued for strict neutrality. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company began to require double "factures" (consular invoices) from Guillén and from Godoy, the Juárist consul in San Francisco. This hurt and impeded French commerce, and therefore Cazotte protested. The Company agreed to one facture alone—the one from Guillén.

By the end of the year Cazotte wrote that the Juárez agents, especially Godoy, were taking advantage of President Andrew Johnson's policy of granting recognition to Juárez and of tolerating unneutral acts on the Río Grande frontier. He also carefully noted the United States Pacific Naval Squadron, and he sent a full description of its make-up to Admiral Mazères, evidently afraid that difficulties might break out between France and the United States. It may have been that Cazotte was not kept informed of the negotiations going on between Washington and Paris. At any rate, the importance of actions in the Pacific were at least noted by France, and Forest was appointed French consul at reopened Mazatlán.

Meanwhile, from the southern part of the state, Moerenhout kept up his long and detailed reports, and the minister transmitted his information to the War and Marine departments. Moerenhout was ordered to continue his special assignment of watching movements in Southern California and in the border provinces of northern Mexico, and to report everything that he saw and knew to Cazotte and also directly to France. This he faithfully did. In fact, his general and commercial reports were so detailed and reliable, that they were widely used, quoted, and circulated in France.

Moerenhout informed Paris of new federal troops in Arizona and along the Sonora frontier. He believed that, though they were sent there on the pretext of Apache depredations, the real reason was that they were being prepared as an army to fight against the French in Sonora. He feared that with Juárez in possession of the northern Mexican states it would be easy for the Mexican president to get aid from the United States. On October 18 Moerenhout wrote concerning Mr. Banning, the principal provider for the United States military posts. It seems as though Banning asked Moerenhout for permission from the French authorities in Sonora to land merchandise, and then to send these shipments overland to the Arizona posts. Moerenhout gave Banning a letter to Cazotte, transmitted the information regarding the permission to the consul, but told him to deny Banning's request. Moerenhout's mounting fears were steeped in the belief that violence would come to the French people and to France, because of the Monroe Doctrine issue. Even the California legislature passed a resolution against a monarchy in Mexico by a vote of seventy-two to two. Moreover, there were steady rumors of the cession of Lower California to American capitalists. These comments greatly bothered Moerenhout, for he was fearful that such actions were the preliminaries of the United States taking possession of Lower California. He knew also that the Americans coveted Sonora.

In 1866 President Johnson overrode Seward's nonintervention policy. Arms were going to Mexico; public opinion was encouraging help to Juárez. Most of the open shipments were coming from California, despite the efforts of Cazotte who aborted a number of Mexican attempts to get arms in San Francisco. There was increased United States pressure on France to get out of Mexico. Napoleon evacuated his troops from Mexico shortly thereafter. The United States further warned Europe not to send troops to Mexico, for such action would be considered as a declaration of war against the United States. The United States also amended its neutrality laws. Maximilian then proclaimed a blockade of northern Mexican ports, and two United States vessels patrolled the Mexican Pacific Coast.

One month after the United States Attorney General approved the shipment of arms to Mexico but *not* the organization of military expeditions on United States territory, Cazotte reported that Godoy and Vega had redoubled their efforts in behalf of Juárez, recruiting and purchasing arms. In truth, Vega left San Diego for Lower California in order to incite rebellion against the French in Mexico, and Cazotte informed Admiral Mazères of vessel movements.

On February 26 Cazotte reported an incident which showed the trend and the turn of events. He stated that Godoy travelled to Sacramento. He was noticed in the gallery and was invited to occupy the seat next to the speaker. The senate and assembly then passed resolutions in favor of the Monroe Doctrine with shouts of "Vive la République!" Cazotte did not protest. He realized what little effect such an action would have, since (as he said) the decision was in Washington which was more conciliatory and moderate. In March Cazotte reported on unneutral acts on the Arizona frontier which he protested. In April he bitterly complained of the hostility of the American press to France and of the publication of false news. His efforts did stop some filibustering attempts; but his policy of adhering to strict neutrality also thwarted some efforts on the part of French imperialists to purchase arms in San Francisco. However Cazotte's efforts were unsuccessful not only because of his opposition but also because the French evacuation of Mexican Pacific ports had a deleterious effect.

Cazotte was invited to join the July Fourth celebration, but he refused because the speeches about the French in Mexico had reached the point of being insulting. In May he sadly wrote of the worsening of the French position in the northern Mexican states. Volunteers were being publicly organized and shipped from San Francisco, and all Cazotte could do was to notify the French admiral. Cazotte deplored the lack of French troops. He stated that the French must chase Juárez out of Mexico and then the United States could no longer recognize him. But he insisted that Vega and the Juárists were now doubling their efforts to send arms to Sonora, Sinaloa, and Lower California. All Cazotte could do was watch these movements, inform the military commandants of Mazatlán and Guaymas, Admiral Mazères, and Marshal Bazaine. The Juárist agents were doing their best, but trying not to trespass the letter of United States law. Some of their ships were stopped.

On September 14 Cazotte wrote that Vega had landed in Lower California on his way to Sonora. The consul regretted that there were no French war vessels there to stop these Juárist expeditions. On September 28 he reported on the evacuation of Guaymas and on how necessary it was for the glory and the honor of the French flag to take the offensive against enemy lines. He sadly related on November 26 the stopping of Imperially sent French ships off Cape Lucas by filibusters.

On December 10 Cazotte wrote that the Juárist agents in San Francisco had formed the "Defenders of Mexico" with the announced departure of the first battalion. He appealed to Delos Lake against such illegal recruiting. Lake demanded evidence, and Cazotte said he was doing his "best, by means of my agents, to collect evidence." On December 13 Cazotte was happily able to write that this Juárist activity had been broken up, but that in so doing he had incurred heavy expenses, and he therefore asked for reimbursement.

On November 1, 1866, a chief report came from Moerenhout in Los Angeles. Moerenhout informed Cazotte that volunteers had replaced the regular United States troops, that these volunteers were being recruited to aid Juárez, that they were converging on Lower California, and that their plan was to drive the French out of northern Mexico. The hostility of both the official government and of the people of the United States encouraged Juárez and gave him the "green light." The resulting filibustering could, Moerenhout feared, lead to the dismemberment of northern Mexico in favor of the United States, as the French had by then been driven out of Sonora.

As long as French troops were in Mexico, even though hostile, the United

States moved slowly. But when the troops were withdrawn and there was no longer fear of war with the French, the United States became openly audacious in Mexico—openly supporting Juárez, making available large sums of money to him, sending recruits and filibusters from California to Lower California and Sonora.

The year 1867 marked the ultimate triumph of Juárez in Mexico. The French troops evacuated Mexico, and Maximilian was deposed and executed. Cazotte aided in the sad and dismal French departure from Acapulco. In appreciation of his work Cazotte was made an officer commander of the Mexican Order of Guadalupe. Notwithstanding the cessation of Mexican-French problems, the French consul enjoyed little peace. Problems constantly arose for the French consul. There was, for instance, the new republican and socialist newspaper, *Le Nationale*, printed briefly in South San Francisco—a paper that hurled violent attacks on Cazotte personally as well as the whole of the French policy and Napoleon III. On November 18 Cazotte was given permission to take his long approved and delayed leave of absence. He remitted the consulate to M. Belcour and left for France. A year later he once again returned to San Francisco, this time with the rank of consul general. Things went more smoothly for the French and their merchants, for with the departure of Maximilian they had no complaints to make and were treated better. Moreover, French vice consulates were operating in Mazatlán and Guaymas.

Though relations between the French, the Mexicans, and North Americans slowly improved, yet it took a long time for the old wounds to heal. This was especially true in the case of the San Francisco press, which continued to write in an inflammatory manner against the French. As late as December 2, 1869, Consul General Ed. Breuil wrote that the *Alta*, the principal organ of the press in San Francisco, was still vituperative in its French attacks. Only the Irish favored the French during this decade. With the advent of the 1870's and the Franco-Prussian War a change of attitudes was seen. The French in California bent their minds towards an acquiring of the English language and becoming integrated Americans.

## NOTE

1. The account given below is based entirely on the archives located in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The source materials are to be found in "Correspondance Politique des Consuls," series Etats-Unis, for the years 1859-70, and in "Correspondance Commerciales des Consuls," series San Francisco and Monterey-Los Angeles, for the years 1859-70.

# The Final Roster of the Army of the West, 1846-1847

### *By* DWIGHT L. CLARKE and GEORGE RUHLEN[1]

ON DECEMBER 6, 1846, after the dispersal of their second charge at the Battle of San Pasqual, Andrés Pico's men rode off down the San Pasqual Valley. The American forces hastily made a camp on the sloping hillside where the battle monument now stands to the north of Highway 78. After succoring their wounded, the dragoons undertook the burial of their dead.

Lieutenant William H. Emory, the topographical engineer, reports the melancholy task:

> When night closed in, the bodies of the dead were buried under a willow to the east of our camp, with no other accompaniment than the howling of myriads of wolves, attracted by the smell. Thus were put to rest together and forever, a band of brave and heroic men.[2]

But despite Emory's prediction, the dead were not to rest forever under the rocks and cactus where they had fallen. In May, 1848, a detachment of the First Dragoons under Lieutenant Davidson transferred the bodies buried at San Pasqual to a cemetery in Old Town, San Diego County. In 1851 Captain Johnston's relatives at Piqua, Ohio, arranged to have his remains shipped to his old home. A year later a weird tale appeared in the California papers. By a strange blunder the coffin containing the body of the dead captain was supposed to have been stored in San Francisco with some boxes of stove parts. Ultimately what was believed to be the Johnston casket was received in Ohio where it was interred and a marble monument was erected over the grave in

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GEORGE RUHLEN, formerly post quartermaster at Fort Rosecrans where the dead of the Battle of San Pasqual are buried, is a retired United States Army colonel.

memory of Kearny's gallant aide. Following one of San Francisco's many fires of the fifties, the boxes of stove parts found their way to a rubbish pile. When one was opened by chance, it was found to contain a human skeleton. At first foul play was suspected, but eventually it was widely believed that the bones were those of Captain Johnston. If true, the monument in Piqua stands over a box of stove parts! The story is told at length by Arthur Woodward in *Lances at San Pascual.*[3]

The remaining bodies interred at Old Town were transferred some time in the eighties to Point Loma and again in 1888 were reinterred in the adjoining Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery—their fourth resting place! There they reposed neglected for many years under a headstone simply marked "16 Unknown U. S. Soldiers." (The graves of Captain Moore and his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Hammond, were nearby.)

Colonel George Ruhlen was post-quartermaster at Fort Rosecrans in 1911. Feeling that these heroic dead merited greater respect, he set in motion the necessary steps to mark their last resting place. His efforts, with the names of the dead, are best told in his letter to the superintendent of the cemetery (by strange coincidence a captain named Kearney). It follows:

San Diego
January 25, 1948.

Superintendent, Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery,
San Diego, California

My dear Captain Kearney:

I have obtained from Mrs. Winifred Davidson, Historian, San Diego Historical Society, the names of the victims of the San Pasqual Battle, December 6, 1846, who are buried in the Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, . . .

[There follows a list of names differing only slightly from those listed below.]

The . . . listed names are those marked on the bronze plate attached to the boulder marking the grave of these soldiers.

Nearby in the same section of the cemetery are the graves of Captain Benjamin D. Moore and 2d Lt Thomas C. Hammond, of Companies C and K, 1st U. S. Dragoons.

The reason the above names do not appear in your cemetery burial records may be explained somewhat by the following information.

In 1911 while I was post quartermaster at Fort Rosecrans, California, the post cemetery was under my jurisdiction. My interest was aroused by a headstone marked "16 Unknown U S Soldiers." The burial record indicates the remains in this grave had been transferred from the Cemetery at Oldtown to which place they had been brought from the San Pasqual Battlefield. These data are recorded in the old post cemetery book which is in your possession. Nearby were the graves of Capt. Benjamin D. Moore, 1st Dragoons, and Lt. Thomas C. Hammond, 1st Dragoons, both of whom were killed at San Pasqual, December 6, 1846.

A perusal of available histories indicated that General Kearny lost three officers and 16 men killed at San Pasqual, and all leads tended to the fact that the remains in the "unknown" grave were those of dragoons killed in that battle.

It was inconceivable that brave men killed in battle should lie in an unmarked grave. Accordingly a letter was prepared for the signature of Major Geo. H. McManus, CAC, Commanding Officer of Fort Rosecrans, setting forth the facts and information obtained, which he sent to the Adjutant General of the Army requesting authority to mark the headstone with the names of those killed at San Pasqual and that the names be furnished.

The letter was returned by the War Department disapproving the request on the grounds that the proof was not sufficient that these were the same bodies, but the reply went on to quote General Kearny's report that he had buried his dead, three officers and 16 men on the battlefield, and the names of the dead were listed in the War Department reply. This communication was filed with the cemetery burial book.

Subsequently in 1921 or 1922 while on duty in the War Department at Washington, D. C., the opportunity occurred to present the whole matter to Major General Willard A. Holbrook, Chief of Cavalry, and an old 1st Cavalryman, who immediately took a deep interest in the affair. A letter to the commanding officer of Fort Rosecrans was returned with the notation that no record could be found of Major McManus' letter. Then I went to the Adjutant General's office in the War Department, found the file copy of Major McManus' letter and showed it to General Holbrook. From that time on things began to pop. The Army became interested and the San Diego Historical Society became active in the matter. A boulder was brought from the San Pasqual Battlefield, set up on the grave and bronze plates were attached recording the names of those buried there.

You may note in the old burial book a notation by Colonel Edwin Landon, CAC, Commanding Officer of Fort Rosecrans in 1922, directing attention to a letter pasted in the book on the opposite page. This letter is now missing. Also a notation I made and initialed in 1933, stating that the names of the unknown soldiers are marked on a plate on the stone now over their grave.

I trust that the information herewith will give you sufficient data to record the names of those gallant soldiers who died in battle for their country in your permanent file, where they should have been placed years ago.

Sincerely yours,  
George Ruhlen,  
Colonel U S Army, Retired.

The names on the bronze plate referred to above are:

1st United States Dragoons

Company C
- Sergeant John Cox[4]
- Corporal William C. West
- Private George Ashmead
- Private Joseph T. Campbell
- Private William Dalton
- Private John Dunlap
- Private Joseph B. Kennedy[5]
- Private William B. Leckey
- Private Samuel T. Repose

Company K
- 1st Sergeant Otis L. Moore
- Sergeant William Whitress
- Corporal George Ramsdale
- Farrier David W. Johnson
- Private William H. Fiel
- Private William C. Gholston
- Private Robert S. Gregory

California Volunteer
- Henry Baker

Topographical Engineer Detachment
- François Menard

Colonel Ruhlen believes this is the only correct list of San Pasqual's dead, buried at Fort Rosecrans, that has ever been published. It will be noted that it differs slightly from the list in "Appendix D" of *Lances at San Pascual.* The Ruhlen list includes a Private Henry Baker omitted from the *Lances* Appendix but mentioned in footnote 140 on page 84, while Woodward has a line reading "One volunteer killed—Hugh McKaffray K Co. 1st Dragoons, missing."

Colonel G. D. Murphey in a letter to Colonel Ruhlen dated February 5, 1948, enclosed a list of those killed at San Pasqual. Since two of the names were spelled differently than on the copies of the muster rolls in Colonel Ruhlen's possession, he requested verification from the enlistment records. General Witsell in response supplied the names listed above. In Colonel Murphey's letter, earlier referred to, he said, "the name of the civilian topographer who was killed is not known." Colonel Ruhlen feels there can be no doubt that he was François Menard, one of Emory's mountain men.

The names on the burial plate total eighteen. To these must be added Captains Abraham Johnston and Benjamin Moore and Lieutenant Thomas Hammond, or a total of twenty-one Americans killed or mortally wounded at San Pasqual—three officers, sixteen enlisted men, the volunteer Henry Baker, and the civilian Menard in the topographical service. McKaffray (or McCaffrey according to Company K's roster) is not included as a casualty as his fate was unknown. He may have been killed or he may have deserted.

Of equal claim to fame are those other members of Companies C and K of the First Dragoons, who with General Kearny and his staff made the entire march from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego—a march only equalled in our history by that of the Mormon Battalion in 1846-47. General Kearny's staff that rode with him into San Diego included Major Thomas Swords, quartermaster, Captain Henry Smith Turner, Lieutenants William Hemsley Emory and W. H. Warner of the Topographical Corps and their assistant, Norman Bestor, Dr. John Strother Griffin, assistant surgeon, the artist John Mix Stanley, and the guide, Antoine Robidoux.

The rosters of Companies C and K, including the casualties listed above, follow:

Members of Companies C and K, 1st Dragoons
Who Marched with General Kearny from the Rio Grande to California
September to December, 1846

Company C, 1st Regiment of Dragoons
Captain Benjamin Daviess Moore, Commanding Company

- 1st Sergeant
  - Richard J. Falls
- Sergeants
  - Richard Williams
  - John O'Brien
  - John Cox
- Corporals
  - Paul D. Wood[6]
  - John W. Cassin
  - Edward Heinricks
  - Oliver C. Wilson
  - William C. West[7]
- Buglers
  - Michael Halpin
  - James R. McKee
- Farrier
  - John S. Roody
- Privates
  - George Ashmead
  - Stephen A. Bishop
  - George S. Bryan
  - Zarah Bobo
  - John Brown
- Privates
  - George Coffelt
  - Edward Curran
  - Michael Curran
  - Mark D. Childs
  - Joseph T. Campbell
  - Jeremiah Crabb
  - Carolus B. Callahan[8]
  - Thomas A. Douglass
  - John Dunlap
  - A. C. Donaldson
  - William Dalton
  - Peter Forney
  - Erasmus D. French[9]
  - Thomas Grady
  - John Hemerle
  - Joseph B. Kennedy
  - Matthew Lauber
  - William C. Leckey
  - Jacob Mauser
  - John McNeilly
- Privates
  - James Murphy
  - George F. Myers
  - John Murty
  - Ferdinand Nicholas
  - James A. Osbourne
  - George Pearce
  - Henry Purcell
  - Amasa Palmer
  - James Pinkerton
  - Isaac N. Randolph
  - Samuel T. Repose
  - James Repeto
  - David Streeter
  - John Stokely
  - Michael A. Tubb
  - William Tubb
  - Christian Teinchman[10]
  - Paul Vanaken
  - John Vyer
  - George N. Williams
  - Jacob Westfall
  - John White

(1 officer, 59 enlisted men)

Company K, 1st Regiment of Dragoons
2d Lieutenant Thomas C. Hammond, Commanding Company

1st Sergeant
  Otis L. Moore
Sergeants
  Theodore Heathcote
  William Whitress
Corporals
  Joseph Clapin
  George W. Whitehorn
  George Ramsdale
Farrier
  David W. Johnson
Privates
  Hiram Andrew
  Asa M. Bowen
  Thomas W. Beale
  John Brestler
  Samuel E. Cooper

Privates
  John Chambers
  Andrew J. Courtner
  John Cutler
  William B. Dunn
  Valentine Ernest
  John Fetzer
  William H. Fiel
  William C. Gholston
  Michael Green
  Robert S. Gregory
  Conrad Humbkey
  Jeremiah Kelliher
  Minard J. Lefever
  Hugh McElroy
  Hugh McCaffrey
  Robert Moore

Privates
  David H. Nickerson
  Godfrey Newmayer
  Francis O'Rourke
  Gilbert Powell
  William Pierce
  John Palmer
  William Raynor
  Thomas Robeson
  Charles Shaw
  John Smith
  Louis Steingrandt
  Mathew Totten
  Hilary Twist
  Israel C. Tindall
  F. L. Venmenmon
  Jacob Wilber

(1 officer, 44 enlisted men)

Two privates of Company K who accompanied Captain Cooke arrived in California in January, 1847, and were assigned to Company C. They were:

Privates: Jacob Jagge Thomas Lester

Lt A. J. Smith arrived in California with Captain Cooke and assumed command of Company C in January, 1847.[11]

Doctor Griffin's report (see Woodward's *Lances at San Pascual*, p. 59) lists four on the medical staff. We can only identify three—Griffin himself and the two hospital stewards Callahan and French. Probably another dragoon not named was a third steward, but that would not change the total.

If lists of names are lacking in human interest, the remarks that the mustering officer of Company C (Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke) noted on the muster roll of February, 1847, bring them to life:

> Discipline—Good
> Instruction—Improving
> Military appearance—Good, except for clothing
> Accoutrements—Good
> Clothing—A mixture of soldier, sailor, & citizen;
> Many ragged, some positively naked.

To these comments should be added the harsh fact that these soldiers had not been paid even their meager wages since ten months previously, on April 30, 1846, prior to their departure from Fort Leavenworth. The pay scale per month at that time for the several grades was:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Colonel | $122.00 | (including rations and servant allowance) |
| Major | 107.00 | " " " " " |
| Captain | 82.00 | " " " " " |
| Lieutenant | 65.00 | " " " " " |
| 1st Sergeant | 16.00 | |
| Sergeant | 13.00 | |
| Corporal | 10.00 | |
| Bugler | 9.00 | |
| Private | 8.00 | |

Truly United States expansion a century ago, like later crises in the history of mankind, was also "purchased by blood, sweat and tears."

## NOTES

1. In the preparation of *Stephan Watts Kearny: Soldier of the West,* the author originally planned to include two appendices. The first was the roster of Companies C and K of the First Dragoons who marched with General Kearny from the Rio Grande to California, September to December, 1846. The other was a list of all American casualties at San Pasqual on December 6 and 7. In securing these data, I was greatly aided by Colonel George Ruhlen, U. S. Army retired. For lack of space these appendices were omitted from the biography, but the data gathered for them are worthy of preservation. Since the compilation is largely the work of Colonel George Ruhlen, his name is included as a coauthor now that the material appears as a separate article.

2. Lt. W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California,* 30 Congress, 1st sess., Sen. Doc. 7 (Reprint: Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1951), p. 170.

3. Arthur Woodward, *Lances at San Pascual* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1948), pp. 47-53.

4. Died of wounds on December 10, 1846.

5. Died of wounds on December 21, 1846.

6. Resigned as corporal on November 27, 1846.

7. Appointed corporal on November 27, 1846.

8. Hospital steward.

9. Hospital steward.

10. This dragoon's name is spelled in three different ways on the several muster rolls of Company C—Teinchard, Trenchard, and Teinchman. Bancroft spells it Tenchman; Woodward, Teinchman. It appears as Teinchman on the

muster rolls from December, 1846, to February, 1847; probably by that time the company clerk had ascertained the correct spelling.

11. The data on Companies C and K were compiled from photostatic copies of the original muster rolls filed with the National Archives, Washington, D. C., by Colonel George Ruhlen, U. S. Army, retired. The muster rolls examined were: Company C, 1st Regiment of Dragoons, Army of the United States, August 31 to October 31, 1846; October 31 to December 31, 1846; December 1, 1846, to February 28, 1847. Company K, 1st Regiment of Dragoons, Army of the United States, August 31 to October 31, 1846; October 31 to December 6, 1846.

# The Quest for the Governorship of Spanish California

### *Edited by* MANUEL P. SERVÍN

INCONCEIVABLE AS IT may at first seem to Californians today, Spanish California possessed little attraction for settlers. Despite its temperate climate, which supposedly was "so good that all [were] . . . getting to look like Englishmen,"[1] and despite the Spanish government's generous subsidies to settlers from New Spain, the province lured few immigrants.[2] San José, the first pueblo, was founded in 1777 with a total of sixty-eight inhabitants;[3] Los Angeles, the only Spanish pueblo in the south, began its existence in 1781 with only forty-four persons;[4] and Villa de Branciforte, present-day Santa Cruz, came into being in 1797 with seventeen *pobladores.*[5] By 1820, just prior to the end of Spanish rule, San José had about 240 inhabitants; Los Angeles, about 650; and Branciforte, about 75—a total municipal population in the neighborhood of 1,000 inhabitants.[6]

The sparcity of this Hispanized population was not, however, the only indication of the province's lack of attraction. The quality of the new settlers gave additional evidence. From the early period California experienced great difficulty in drawing substantial, ambitious immigrants. The founding fathers of Los Angeles were from the poorest and lowest classes of northwestern New Spain, and were largely unacceptable even to the missionaries.[7] The founders of Branciforte, though being more European than those of San José and Los Angeles, were of poorer quality: some were ridden with syphilis, and the group as a whole was of class deemed not much better than petty criminals.[8] To augment this meager, humble pueblo population, the Spanish government found it necessary to foster further immigration. Unfortunately, it found it expedient to encourage, and in some cases to require, petty criminals and foundlings to migrate to the peninsula. Between 1791 and 1798 at least twenty-eight prisoners and former prisoners arrived; in 1800 nineteen foundlings were sent from the city of Mexico.[9]

If the *poblador's* life in Spanish California proved unalluring to the inhabitants of New Spain, the governorship of the province, on the other hand, appears to have been attractive and desirable to some exemplary military and naval officers. A concrete example of the desirability, and of the relative importance, of this position occurred in 1792 with the death of Governor José Antonio Roméu. Almost immediately after Roméu's death on April 9, 1792, the Viceroy received petitionary letters (which are translated below) recommending four remarkable, if not outstanding, candidates and officers for the gubernatorial post—Francisco Antonio Mourelle, of the Royal Navy; Lieutenant Colonel Manuel de Echeagaray, commandant of the Presidio of Santa Cruz in New Mexico; Captain Pedro de Alberni, commandant of the garrison at Nootka; and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Diego de Borica, adjutant inspector of the Internal Presidios of New Spain. Whether other letters recommending additional candidates were received has not been definitely determined.

Probably the outstanding candidate for the position was Francisco Mourelle, who personally wrote to the Viceroy and enclosed a detailed, and not immodest, record of services rendered. Mourelle—whose imposing American record prior to his petition included two important explorations of the Canadian and Alaskan coasts under Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, voyages to the Philippines and China, and the post of special secretary to the Viceroy—terminated his career splendidly. Returning to Spain a year after seeking the governorship, he distinguished himself numerous times against the British during the early Napoleonic period and against the French during the Peninsular War. He became successively *capitán de navío*, a flag officer, and finally commanding general of the *Gran expedición de ultramar* which had been formed to eradicate the Independence Movement in South America.[10] Yet Mourelle, despite his excellent New World record, was not selected as governor of California.

A second but less distinguished candidate for the post was Manuel de Echeagaray, whose petition to the Viceroy was written by his father, Don Luis Gutiérrez, treasurer general of the royal patronage and royal treasury in Mexico City. Echeagaray already had a good frontier service record at the time he indirectly sought the governorship in 1792. As captain of the presidio of Santa Cruz in northern Sonora, he had been selected to command a substantial expedition which was to establish the direct trade route between Sonora and Santa Fé. Despite the expedition's failure to reach Santa Fé, Echeagaray received the firm approbation of Commandant General Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola for discovering the pass to New Mexico and for his handling of the hostile Apaches. Shortly before his father solicited the California post, he was again chosen as commander of a second similar expedition, but was pushed aside and replaced by his immediate superior. Whether this action motivated Lieutenant Colonel Echeagaray to seek the governorship is difficult to determine. At any rate, Echeagaray did not come to California, either as governor or as a military commander, but remained in Sonora where he advanced to the position of military commandant.[11]

Lieutenant Colonel Pedro de Alberni, who later in his career came to California as commander of the Catalonian Volunteers, was a third unsuccessful candidate for the post. Alberni, an officer whose accomplishments have been overlooked by California historians but not by his wife, was military commandant and governor of Nootka—New Spain's Siberia—when the incumbent Roméu died. Consequently, it was his wife who wrote and pushed, hoping to obtain California's governorship for her husband. Yet, Doña Juana Vélez de Alberni, as her letter below clearly shows, did not exaggerate her husband's accomplishments. Alberni had apparently distinguished himself by his participation in the Portuguese and Sonoran campaigns and by his administration of the province of Nayarit and of the port of Nootka, where he successfully promoted agriculture, built offices and houses, and strengthened relations with the aborigines. Alberni was promoted to a brevet lieutenant colonelcy but not to the governorship of California.[12] Alberni, however, was later stationed in that province where he became a lieutenant of the governor (Diego de Borica, the successful candidate for the position) in the founding of the Villa de Branciforte.[13] Upon Borica's retirement and death in 1800, Alberni became the highest ranking officer in the Californias, but not interim governor.[14]

The successful applicant for California's highest post, Diego de Borica, possessed an exceptional frontier military record. Distinguishing himself in encounters and campaigns against the Comanches and Apaches in New Mexico and also in military administrative posts, Borica received strong recommendations from his superiors, Interim Commandant General José Antonio Rengel and Commandant General Pedro de Nava, in 1784 and 1793 respectively.[15] In addition to his excellent record, he had several advantages over his rivals. Of all the above-mentioned applicants, he held the most important frontier position—adjutant inspector of the Internal Presidios; he received his brevet lieutenant colonelcy first; he had been personally recommended by the commandant general of the Internal Provinces; and, most important, he was a friend of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo.[16]

Whether Borica's services were as distinguished as those of Naval Lieutenant Mourelle or as far-reaching as those of Pedro de Alberni cannot be judged. In any event, it is plausible that Borica's selection, if one places any reliance on his service record, reveals an appreciation of both military and administrative accomplishments by the Viceroy and by the commandant general of the Internal Provinces. Regardless of the reasons for his appointment, Borica proved to be a most successful governor. In the words of Hubert Howe Bancroft, he "was one of the ablest and best rulers the country ever had, always striving for progress in different directions, avoiding controversy, personally interesting himself in the welfare of all classes; a jovial bon-vivant, knight of Santiago, and a man of wealth."[17]

The letters that Borica and his unsuccessful opponents for the governorship wrote or that were written on their behalf are of consequence in understanding California and Hispanic colonial history.[18] They clearly reveal the high character and ability of the gubernatorial aspirants, and clearly indicate the regard in which the office was held. Perhaps of less significance, they serve to combat to a limited degree some of the stereotype concepts of Spaniards and Spanish culture that some Americans are prone to accept—the ideas that Spaniards were universally easy-going and that Spanish women were quiet, retiring wives. These few letters, on the contrary, are proof that certain Spaniards, especially in the military, were pushed by the same drives for position and status that were found in the English-speaking world. Perhaps, the outstanding example of this drive is found in Mourelle's letter and enclosed statements of services, the first of the various letters of application that are translated below:

Most Excellent Señor, the Viceroy of New Spain

Señor:

After having served on the voyages which were made from San Blas to the discoveries [in the Pacific Northwest] and to Asia for a period of eighteen years beginning in February of [17]75, I obtained from our sovereign, through Your Excellency's respected influence, permission to return to Spain if Your Excellency should find it convenient.

My object in that petition was to escape from the climate of the Torrid Zone which so obviously always attacked my health. And, since I was supported by the merits earned during the indicated eighteen years, and by the six voyages from Spain to America before I was assigned to San Blas, I had hopes that the King's mercy would assign me to a country suitable to my health.

The death of the governor of Monterey gave me hope, upon seeing Your Excellency's justice, that you would grant me that command if this should be advantageous to the King's service and beneficial to those new establishments.

My scientific knowledge in navigation would be useful in commanding those presidios and missions. The exploration of those neighboring coasts and even of the distant ones (when Your Excellency should order that they be examined from land), the investigation of the inland territories, the location and true position of the large rivers that flow through them, and all the geographical descriptions which to this day we do not possess, could be accomplished without expense to the royal treasury in such a case.

The products which would make that territory prosper would be promoted by me in accordance with the exportation that I have proposed since the year '85 to the Most Excellent Conde de Gálvez, which statement should be in Your Excellency's secretariat.

Concerning the destruction of commerce which the foreigners carry out in the fur trade, and from which, at some time, inevitable harm will result to our nation, I think that I can state that I have more ability and knowledge to achieve than anyone else.

If Your Excellency's goodness (after seeing the aforementioned reasons and the uninterrupted succession of voyages, which were made for eighteen years from San Blas to the discovered areas of the northern coasts of the Californias and to the establishments in Asia, which are attested to by the enclosed statements, and of which there are excellent recommendations in Your Excellency's secretariat) should accede to my petition, I would consider myself remunerated for my services and obligated to Your Excellency's kindness.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency's life for many years.

Mexico, 30 July 1792
The Most Excellent Señor

Fran.co Antonio Mourelle

### FIRST

### STATEMENT OF THE MERITS AND SERVICES THAT DON FRANCISCO ANTONIO MOURELLE, LIEUTENANT OF THE ROYAL FLEET, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO, ACHIEVED WHILE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EL FERROL.

On 10 April, [17]63 he was examined in the study of navigation at the Academy for Pilots at El Ferrol.

1. On the 19 March '65 he was ordered aboard the man-of-war *El Arrogante,* Don Juan Ponce de León commanding, in order to exercize the theory of his specialty. He travelled to Cádiz, Cartagena, Genoa, back to Cartagena, and finally to El Ferrol where he disembarked on 11 October of that same year.

2. On the 1 October '66 he embarked for the same reason on the bark *Peregrina,* Lieutenant Don Atanacio Barranda commanding, and travelled to Brazil, Caracas, Havana, and Cádiz where he disembarked on the 12 May '68.

3. On the 18 January '69 by command of the King, he was ordered aboard and placed in charge of navigation of the Catalonian settee, *Nuestra Señora del Buen Viage* which was transporting a company of the León Regiment to the island of Puerto Rico; he returned to disembark at El Ferrol on the 5 June of the same year.

4. On the 13 October '70, being an assistant to the regular pilot of the Royal Fleet, he embarked on the Catalonian settee *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* which was chartered by order of the King to transport a company of the Victoria Regiment from El Ferrol to Puerto Rico; and, after having had charge of its navigation, he returned to disembark at the said Department on 26 February '71.

5. On the 18 March of the same year he embarked on the frigate *Santa Catalina,* Captain Don Vicente Caamaño commanding; he disembarked from it on the 1 July of the same year.

6. On the 24 April he was ordered aboard the King's corvette *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores,* Lieutenant Ignacio Milau commanding, destined for Cumaná, and the Ysla de Trinidad de Barlovento; he returned to disembark at El Ferrol on the 12 September '73.

7. On the 10 October of the same year he was ordered aboard the King's bark *Santa Rita,* Lieutenant Don Juan Palacios commanding, in which he travelled to Cádiz, Puerto Rico, and Veracruz, from where by order of His Excellency the Viceroy Don Antonio Bucareli he disembarked on 12 January 1775. He travelled to San Blas, being employed as first pilot in the explorations which were made from there to the northern coasts of America.

In the seven recorded embarcations and voyages, he has merited extraordinary recommendations which give him considerable credit in his specialty as is evident to His Excellency Don Manuel de Florez who was general and commandant general of the Department of Ferrol where this interested party rendered his first services.

Fran.co Antonio Mourelle

Mexico, 30 July 1792

## SECOND

## STATEMENT OF THE MERITS EARNED AND OF THE SERVICES RENDERED BY DON FRANCISCO ANTONIO MOURELLE, LIEUTENANT OF ROYAL FLEET, FROM HIS VOYAGES FROM THE PORT OF SAN BLAS TO THE DISCOVERIES REACHING 61 DEGREES LATITUDE ON THE NORTHERN COAST OF THE CALIFORNIAS, AND ALSO FROM HIS VOYAGES TO THE ORIENT.

1. On 14 March [17]75, commissioned as first pilot of the schooner *Sonora*, he departed from the port of San Blas for the discoveries of the northern coast of the Californias—discoveries that were carried out by this ship as far as 58 degrees of latitude. He returned to San Blas at the end of November of the above said year.

2. At the beginning of March '76, as an ensign, he sailed from San Blas, commanding the King's packet named *Príncipe*, in order to aid the presidio of San Diego on the northern coast of California. He returned to San Blas at the end of June of the same year.

3. At the beginning of February '79, he was second in command of the King's frigate *Favorita* which sailed that year from San Blas to the discoveries which reached as far as 61 degrees latitude. He returned to that port at the end of November of the same year.

4. At the beginning of February '80, he sailed as second in command of the King's frigate, *Princesa*, which travelled to Manila with troops, powder, and funds which due to the war were needed at that fortress where he disembarked at the beginning of July of the same year.

5. On the 24 August 1780, as an ensign, he took command of the same frigate *Princesa* and departed from Manila upon receiving favorable reports on the security of that fortress. He arrived at San Blas toward the end of September '81.

6. At the beginning of July 1783, he took command at San Blas of the frigate *Princesa* and carried the news of the peace to Manila, from where he returned in the same ship to the port of San Blas and disembarked on the first of December 1784.

7. In the beginning of January '85, he took command of the Department of San Blas, and he gave it up at the beginning of October of the same year in order to attend some other urgent affairs of the Royal Service.

8. At the beginning of October '85, he took command of small schooner, and in it he carried the first funds and royal orders for the establishment of the company of the Philippines. He arrived at Manila in this ship toward the end of December of the same year.

9. At the beginning of February '86, he took command of the King's man-of-war *San Felipe*, and with necessary funds he travelled to Canton in the empire of China from where he returned and disembarked at Manila on 4 June of the same year.

10. At the beginning of September '86, while in command of the same man-

of-war, he sailed to China and returned to Manila on the last of November of the same year.

11. At the beginning of January '87, while in command of the same man-of-war, he sailed to Canton in the empire of China, and returned to Manila in the first days of September of the same year.

12. In July '89, now being a lieutenant, he embarked on the King's man-of-war *San Andrés* and travelled to the port of Acapulco where he disembarked in January 1790.

13. In September 1791 he was commissioned by order of His Excellency the Viceroy to take command of a ship of exploration in the port of San Blas, where he embarked for the port of Acapulco. From there he returned to Mexico during the first days of March '92 due to new orders from your Excellency.

In the thirteen commissions which have been recorded and in which he was employed for eighteen years, he carried out his obligations so greatly in accordance to the will of his superiors that all of them made serious efforts to write excellent recommendations to the King concerning his conduct, activity, and intelligence. At the same time he merited the consideration of the foreigners who took as their guide his diaries.

Fran.co Antonio Mourelle

Mexico, 30 July 1792

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Most Excellent Señor

Don Luis Gutiérrez, minister, treasurer general of the patronage and the royal treasury of this capital, in behalf and at the request of his son, Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel de Echagaray, commandant of the Presidio of Santa Cruz, one of the Internal Provinces, with due respect informs Your Excellency that the governorship of the province of California has become vacant due to the death of Lieutenant Colonel Don José Antonio Roméu. Because the aforesaid Don Manuel de Echagaray possesses the necessary qualities of aptitude, military skill, sufficient rank, robust health, irreproachable conduct, and many merits, which he has minutely made known to Your Excellency and concerning which (including the military command at Arispe) the Commandant General Don Pedro Nava has informed Your Excellency, it is humbly requested that it pleases Your Excellency to confer the aforementioned governorship of the Californias upon Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel de Echagaray, whose natural excellence hopes to merit the kindness of Your Excellency.

Mexico, 8 July 1792 Luis Gutiérrez

Most Excellent Señor

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Most Excellent Señor

Doña Juana Vélez, lawful wife of the captain of the Catalan Volunteers assigned to the government of Nootka on the coast of Alta California, has requested that I appropriately recommend to Your Excellency the distinguished merits of her husband for the governorship of Monterey that is vacant. And although I did not wish to make use of this friendship, considering the quality of the fairness which is evident in Your Excellency and being prevailed upon by her requests, I venture to do it—imploring Your Excellency to please consider this captain's revelant services, performed in that miserable assignment where it is required that the hardships, which he has suffered in the time that he has been confined in it, be greater than those suffered in the rigorous campaign. Therefore, I hope that the well-known goodness of Your Excellency, if he has not already named a person for that governorship, please consider this honorable officer and please forgive my boldness in bothering you.

God keep Your Excellency many years.

Guadalajara, 10 July 1792 Antonio Villa Urrutía
Most Excellent Señor

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Most Excellent Señor

Doña Juana Vélez y Carrera, lawful wife of Don Pedro Alberni, captain of the Catalan Volunteer Regiment and at the present time stationed at the new establishment and exploration of the port of Nootka, with the greatest due respect and with confidence in Your Excellency's well-known integrity, humbly petitions that Your Excellency bear in mind the aforesaid captain in the filling of the governorship of Monterey (left vacant by the death of Don José Roméu) which appointment he has always desired, and which at the present moment would be most timely in obtaining relief from the famine and hardships that he is undergoing on the aforementioned expedition.

I do not doubt that this petition, based upon military services that could be concealed from Your Excellency's perspicacity, will have the desired effect upon Your Excellency's sense of justice.

May God Our Lord keep the important life of Your Excellency for many years.

Guadalajara, 26 June 1792 Juana Vélez
Most Excellent Señor

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Señor:

Don Diego de Borica, adjutant inspector of Internal Presidios of New Spain, brevet lieutenant colonel of cavalry, with the greatest respect makes known to Your Honor that he has served a period of twenty-nine years, three months, and five days: one year, four months, and fifteen days as an infantry cadet; twelve years, eleven months, and eight days as an infantry and cavalry lieutenant; four years, seven months, and twenty-six days as captain of this branch; and ten years, three months and sixteen days in his present position of adjutant inspector with the rank of lieutenant colonel for seven years, four months, and sixteen days.

Within this period he took the census of the districts adjacent to Mexico, and has organized the militias of the province of New Mexico; he carried out two punitive expeditions against the Comanches and three campaigns against the Apaches, having punished the latter severely in two and having in all these expeditions from one hundred fifty to two hundred men under his command while he himself was under another commander in only one. He has had another encounter when he was commandant of the New Mexican cordon of frontier forts.

From the year 1779 he was assigned duty as subinspector of the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, and up to the present date he has made twenty-three presidial inspections and four reviews of flying companies; he organized the militia of El Paso, drawing up its regulations; he carried out the work of consolidating such dispersed population in order to free the people from the sudden attacks of the enemy; he co-operated in the establishment of other military settlements following the corresponding requirements which were demanded by so many undertakings. On various occasions he has had command of the second and fourth divisions of the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya. In 1785 he was commissioned by the commandancy general to request help from the viceroyality and to inform it of the state of the provinces. In '89, '90, '91, and part of the present year, he was commissioned to visit the Tarahumares, the Tepehuanes, the Spanish settlements, mining towns, haciendas, and ranchos of Nueva Vizcaya in order to apprehend all classes of offenders, and to introduce measures benefitting the Indians living in the pueblos. This he carried out, apprehending many criminals, pardoning those who voluntarily gave themselves up, and removing the extremely grave oppressions suffered by the Indians who numbered thirty-three thousand five-hundred individuals of every class and were living in seventy-five pueblos. Since his departure from Mexico, he has travelled, always on official business or on campaigns, nine thousand five hundred leagues throughout these provinces. In consideration of all this: he humbly entreats that Your Honor please confer upon him the political and military government of the peninsula of California, left vacant by the death of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Don José Antonio Roméu—a favor which he hopes to merit from your sovereign clemency.

Chihuahua, 20 June 1792 Diego de Borica
Señor

The merits and service which the interested party states are true; and in view of the talent and of the fine execution and discharge of his command, I consider him most suitable for the office of governor of California which is now vacant and which he seeks, provided Your Honor deigns to confer it on him.

Chihuahua, June 21, 1792 Pedro de Nava[19]

## NOTES

1. By this remark Governor Diego de Borica meant that the inhabitants, the *gente de razón,* were becoming lighter skinned because of the climate. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 533; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), p. 408.

2. For the amount of the subsidy, see Felipe de Neve, "Reglamento," *Annual Publications, HSSC,* XV (1931), 248-249.

3. Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Story of San Jose, 1777-1869," *CHSQ,* XIV (March, 1935), 5; Bancroft, *California,* I, 312, gives sixty-six as the number of founders.

4. W. W. Robinson, *Los Angeles* (San Francisco, 1959), p. 14. Bancroft, *California,* I, 345, gives forty-six as the number of founders. For a complete and solid description of the founding of Los Angeles, *see* Thomas Workman Temple, "Se Fundaron un Pueblo de Españoles," *Annual Publications, HSSC,* XV (1931), 69-98.

5. Florian Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *CHSQ,* XLI (March, 1962), 38-39.

6. Bancroft, *California,* II, 377, 378n, 349, 390.

7. For an incisive, brief description of the *pobladores, see* John Caughey, *California,* pp. 140-141. Chapman, *California,* pp. 391-392, is decidedly harsh on the *poblanos.*

8. Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *CHSQ,* XLI, 38-39; Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara, 1930), II, 537-538.

9. Bancroft, *California,* I, 605-606; Chapman, *California,* pp. 384 and 392.

10. For a scholarly description of Mourelle's accomplishments *see* Donald Cutter, "California, Training Ground for Spanish Naval Heroes," *CHSQ,* XL (June, 1961), 109-114. The editor is indebted to Professor Cutter for making available research data on Pedro de Alberni and for kindly reviewing the final translation of letters appearing herein.

11. George P. Hammond, "The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fé: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795," *New Mexico Historical Review,* VI (January, 1931), 41-49, presents a scholarly picture of Echeagaray's contributions and activities in the opening of the trail.

12. "Viage a la Costa N. O. de America, por D. Juan Fran.$^{co}$ de la Bodega y Quadra, . . . ano de 1782," MS, Huntington Library, San Marino, *HM* 141; El Rey to el Conde de Alange, Aranjuez, March 28, 1793, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Estado* 4287; Pedro de Alberni to Miguel Joseph Aranza, San Francisco, August 1, 1798, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, *Mexico* 1446; Bancroft, *California,* II, 5-6.

13. Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *CHSQ,* XLI, 33.

14. Conde de Revilla Gigedo to José Antonio Arrillaga, July 8, 1792, Archivo

General de la Nación, Mexico, *Californias*, Tomo 16 (microfilm in Bancroft Library).

15. Diego de Borica's Service Records, December 31, 1784, and December 31, 1793, Archivo General de la Nación, *Indiferente de Guerra*, Tomo 150 (microfilm). The editor is indebted to Mr. Michael Mathes, special collections librarian at the University of New Mexico, for supplying microfilm repreductions of the above records; *also see* Pedro de Nava's notation on Diego de Borica's letter translated below.

16. Bancroft, *California*, I, 531.

17. Bancroft, *California*, II, 724.

18. The letters recommending the four aspirants to the governorship are translated from the microfilm copies in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, AGN, *Californias*, Tomo 16. The editor is indebted to Miss Helen Voll for rendering a preliminary draft of the letters by Luis Gutiérrez, Juana Vélez, Antonio Villa Urrutía, and Diego de Borica; and to Dr. Iris Higbie Wilson for reviewing the entire manuscript.

19. Pedro de Nava wrote this note on the upper left corner of Borica's letter which was translated above.

# New Books

*Warner: The Man and the Ranch.* By Lorrin L. Morrison. (Los Angeles, the author, 1962. 88 pp. $2.00.) Reviewed by Iris Higbie Wilson.

The life of Jonathan Trumbull Warner spanned an important period in the early history of California and encompassed a wide variety of political, economic, and social activities. His many accomplishments in the West provided a remarkable contrast to the inactive life of ill-health which forced him to leave his native Connecticut in 1830. Following his doctor's advice, Warner travelled first to St. Louis where Jedediah Smith encouraged him to enter the fur trade. Within a few months the still sickly youth accompanied an expedition led by Ewing Young and reached California via Santa Fe and the southern route in December of 1831. On this journey Warner passed directly through the valley of San Jose, the part of southern California which was eventually to become his home and to gain fame as Warner's Ranch.

After brief ventures into sea otter hunting and fur trapping in northern California and Oregon, Warner planned to return to the East, but again his poor health destined him to remain in the milder climate of the Pacific Coast. In 1834 Warner entered into the commercial life of Los Angeles and soon became an integral part of California's society. Warner's Ranch, which he acquired in 1844 under his official hispanicized name of Juan José Warner, consisted of more than 48,000 acres lying in Salton depression about 135 miles southeast of Los Angeles. The ranch house, which became an important trading post, was built within four miles of the famous hot springs which now bear his name. After 1858 the Butterfield Stage Line was fortunately routed through his property.

Although Warner was primarily a businessman, he took an active part in quelling Indian uprisings, served in both the Mexican War and the Civil War, organized and worked with numerous civic commissions, became the first president of the Historical Society of Southern California, and achieved recognition as an historian in his own right. Warner's death in 1895 at the age of eighty-eight ended a noteworthy career which seems even more significant in view of the handicap under which it was begun. Juan José Warner was one of the true pioneers of California.

Morrison's work is a well-written survey of Warner's life and serves as a handy reference source. Its length (eighty-seven pages) necessarily limits the amount of background material which would provide a more comprehensive study of the period, but the book contains a surprising amount of information. A bibliography and index are included, although unfortunately the text is not footnoted. This modestly priced book ($2.00) is beautifully printed by the author and contains a number of excellent maps and illustrations.

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Iris Higbie Wilson, who received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Southern California, is an instructor in California and Hispanic American history at Long Beach City College, and a lecturer in California history at U. S. C. She has recently completed a biography of William Wolfskill, which is scheduled for publication in 1964.

*Exploring the Great Basin.* By Gloria Griffen Cline. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 254 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by Andrew F. Rolle.

Too frequently the time-serving, dull and unimaginative manuscript characterizes writing that deals with the area west of the Rockies. Whether in fiction or non-fiction, sophistication and balance are two elements often lacking in writings about the American West. Fortunately, a new group of "postwar Ph.D's" has been busy infusing these desirables into western historical writing. Dr. Cline is one of these scholars who provides correctives of substance and importance, specifically to the history of western exploration. She is as much a geographer as an historian. In this book, which forms part of the University of Oklahoma Press "American Exploration and Travel Series," the author has reduced a large theme to manageable proportions, with both skill and grace. She substitutes lucid organization for a mass of frequently disparate and contradictory narrative sources concerning a vast area, the Great Basin.

From Spanish times, when the legend of the San Buenaventura River (a mythical stream that supposedly flowed from the Rockies to the Pacific) was born, this unique region of interior drainage has attracted the curious. It offered its conquerors a desert barrier that seemed insurmountable. The Great Basin, once the lair of Indians, explorers, fur trappers, and later of anthropologists and geologists, has now found its historian. This book also portrays the geographical background of an area traversed by such diverse types as Jedediah Smith, Peter Skene Ogden, and John Charles Frémont who, in 1844, gave it its name after discovering that the Great Basin had no water connection with the outside world.

Working with rare Hudson's Bay Company materials, the author has put together the first comprehensive account of the Great Basin from its discovery by whites through the period of Frémont's explorations. The opposite of antiquarian, she demonstrates a flair for picturing the unusual in time and place. Although concretely local, this book escapes the shadows of provincialism. Dr. Cline's vision of regionalism is, thus, emancipative rather than restrictive. In short, there is no work quite like this about the region which it treats.

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ANDREW F. ROLLE, professor of history at Occidental College, is the author of numerous volumes and articles on Western and California subjects. Among his best known works are *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis* (1956); *The Road to Virginia City: The Diary of James Knox Polk Miller* (1960); *Occidental: The First Seventy-Five Years* (1962); and *California: A History* (1963).

*The San Francisco Chronicle Reader.* Edited by William Hogan and William German. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1962. 323 pp. Illustrations. $5.95.) Reviewed by Irving McKee.

Two editors of California's most sophisticated daily newspaper have here concocted a mélange of memorabilia. The items, mostly a column in length but often longer, are clustered about such topics as the Big Game, Chinatown, extravagances before 1906, eccentrics from Emperor Norton to the beatniks, crime, the lively arts (including sports), the military, labor unions, and the Fire.

Two reservations: The paper has a gossip columnist who often relieves his gossip with paeans to "Baghdad-by-the-Bay" and other amusing matters but who is unmistakably a confrère of Walter Winchell. Hogan and German maintain:

"In the wonderful world of San Francisco journalism Herb Caen is the champion (p. 9)."

Secondly, the editors contend that their book "is not a history" (p. xi). Technically, perhaps not, but substantively yes – a history the value of which depends upon the *Chronicle*, 1865-1961, and the anthologists. Indeed, more regard for historical method would have improved the *Reader*. An editorial of 1869, "The Dirty Drama" (p. 165), would gain in force if needed information were supplied: the de Young brothers, proprietors of what was then the *Daily Dramatic Chronicle*, a throwaway, were campaigning against Tom Maguire, owner of the chief theatres in the city; Maguire had barred the paper from his houses (M. H. de Young, dictation, MS in Bancroft Library, Berkeley).

Also, we learn that Charles de Young was assassinated in 1880 (p. 3), but the necessary who's, how's, and why's of history (and of journalism) are not supplied, perhaps because sources other than the *Chronicle* have to be consulted. By 1871 the de Youngs had been unsuccessfully sued for criminal libel at least twelve times (dictation) and by 1874 had been involved in physical combat with their critics in public places, including the City Prison, at least three times *(Bulletin,* December 21, 1871; February 2, 3, 1874). On August 22, 1879, Rev. Isaac S. Kalloch, a candidate for mayor, denounced the brothers from his pulpit for blackmail and the next day was twice shot and wounded from ambush by Charles *(Bulletin,* August 23-25). Kalloch was elected and recovered to serve his term. Then, on April 23, 1880, his son, Rev. Isaac M., shot and killed Charles in his office *(Bulletin,* April 24). He was acquitted *(Bulletin,* April 26).

In 1884 Adolph B. Spreckels shot and wounded Michael de Young, the surviving brother, for alleged libel of Adolph's father Claus *(Alta California,* November 19).

Hogan and German's *Reader* contains seventy-two items from the years 1941-1961, but only thirty-three from 1865-1940; from an historical point of view, this seems disproportionate.

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Irving McKee, professor of English and head of the department at Sacramento State College, received his A.B., A.M., and Ph.D. degrees from Yale University.

*California Heritage*. By John and LaRee Caughey. (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 536 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Richard H. Dillon.

I'll bet a dollar (Mex.) that, sometime circa 1928, a penny-bright young NSGW Fellow named John W. Caughey (as *Time* would put it), became a 3 x 5 card addict. Or, perhaps he was hooked by what librarians mysteriously call the "p-slip," for which there appears to be no cure. In any event, the evidence available to an old symptomatologist like the undersigned indicates that the collecting of references to the good and the great in California literature and history by Professor Caughey and his helpmeet began long ago. For this is certainly no overnight-omnibus of Californiana.

The book reflects the experience, hard work, taste and historiographical savvy of the cocompilers just as much as the rolling on of years and the passing of whole libraries of material across their desks and reading tables. As its subtitle states, the book is an anthology of history and literature. It is eclectic in its demand of excellence but permissive in its inclusion of all manner of writing and its judgment of each piece by the rivals of its own genre, not by some absolute standard. Thus, we have clumsy writing, such as smuggler George W. Eayrs' 1813 Memorial to the Viceroy of New Spain; on-the-spot reporting by such men as Henry Bigler; and reflective essays by such professionals as Bolton, Chapman, and Kroeber, all chock-a-block. This diversity makes for refreshing changes of pace, something like alternating rye occasionally with sour mash Kentucky.

There is plenty of room here for variety; as a result, fact and fiction, prose and poetry, plodding paragraphs and purplish passages all jostle for the rail position in this race for the reader's attention. You will find poetry varying from Robinson Jeffers' "The Inquisitors" to George Sterling's "Abalone Song"; you will find splendid, controlled essays by the likes of Josiah Royce contrasting with disconnected travel narratives of diarists Miguel Constansó and Patrick Breen.

If the exclusion of Helen Hunt Jackson's little troupe (the italic Indian with the sweetie with the rambling rose in her hair—that's what the song says!) was not deliberate, then the only thing arbitrary about this anthology is the grouping of the selections into nine convenient categories on a more or less chronological basis: Indians, Spaniards, Pastoral, Conquest *(Yanqui)*, Gold, The Young State, Passing of the Frontier, Twentieth Century, and Climax of Growth and Challenge.

Almost all of your favorites are here (unless you are a dedicated Ramonaphile) and the table of contents reads like a literary and historical Who's Who of the Golden State, both of the quick and the dead: Crespi, Font, Palóu, Dana, Frémont, Emory, Colton, Bryant, Taylor, Buffum, Delano, Bruff, Manly, Hutchings, Shirley, Bell, Derby, Clemens, Harte, Mulford, Coolbrith, Bierce, George, King, Muir, Burgess, London, Austin, and Norris. Among the very quick are such men as Oscar Lewis, Robert Hine, Remi Nadeau, and Franklin Walker. (But no Caughey; such is the price of modesty.)

The selections may not make you like the personality of the writers if you have developed an allergy to them over the years, but they can shake you out of your hostility enough to appreciate their writing talent. (A good personal case in point is that of that irritating individual, but master of description, John C. Frémont.) Finally, the greatest service of this handsome book, in this reviewer's opinion, at least, is to pass on to all of us the little jewels of narration and description which have been unknown to us, heretofore. To cite but two examples, there is the piece, "Trading With the Americans," (1840) by Prudencia Higuera, and James H. Carson's marvelous, salty "A Violent Attack of the Gold Fever."

It is a pleasure to make room on my shelf, next to Joseph Henry Jackson's *Western Gate*, for this volume with its broader coverage of the California scene.

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Richard H. Dillon, librarian of the Sutro Library, is a well-known author and editor. His most recent works include *The Hatchet Man, California Trail Herd, The Gila Trail.*

*A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library: Volume I—Pacific and Western Manuscripts (except California).* Edited by Dale L. Morgan and George P. Hammond. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. 379 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

Students and historians have long held back their personal impatience and excitement anticipating the publication of *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library*. Now at long last, the first of the three volumes planned and edited by Dale L. Morgan and George P. Hammond is available, and it was well worth waiting for.

Volume I lists only the holdings of The Bancroft which cover the entire West from Alaska to Arizona, from Texas to Hawaii, with the exception of California. Overland diaries, letters of Brigham Young and other prominent Mormons, papers of the Jedediah Smith family, Kit Carson, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Alphonse L. Pinart, and Sir John Bowring of Hawaii, 1859-1871, are but a few to be mentioned here.

Dale Morgan's splendid *Introduction* describes graphically the methods employed by H. H. Bancroft and his aides, not only in collecting and cataloging, but also in securing materials and in the assembling of this renowned library. Also included is a concise and descriptive biographical study of the "Historian of the West," Hubert Howe Bancroft, and of his book publishing ventures.

George P. Hammond, since 1946 director of The Bancroft Library, gives a brief resumé of the myriad problems that faced the editors in formulating a method and outline of procedure to be followed in the final preparation of the three volumes.

The structural division of the *Guide* is in accordance with the three classifications by geographic area that were established in Bancroft's day; however it includes one added category, *Western and Miscellaneous*. But as Morgan explains in his descriptive *Introduction*, "the Library's Manuscript collections are interpenetrating; the California Manuscripts may contain materials significantly relating to Utah or Mexico; the Mexican Manuscripts may have material pertaining to Alaska or California; and as will be seen by examination of the *Guide*, the Pacific and Western Manuscripts contain much of interest concerning other areas."

In addition to giving the call number for each manuscript, fifty-four pages of the *Guide's* three hundred and seventy-nine pages are devoted to a superb Index which will surely become the model for all such indexes covering collections of this nature.

A volley of applause is due to these two editors and to the generous-hearted, inspired individuals who lent their assistance in bringing about the completion of this particular work.

Volume I will whet the appetite of the researcher, historian, collector, and librarian to such a degree that it will provide, it is hoped, added stimulus for the final preparation of the remaining two volumes.

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Anna Marie Hager, president of the Historical Society of Southern California, is the coauthor of *The Historical Society of Southern California Bibliography and Topical Index, 1884-1957*, and of the *Cumulative Index — Westways-Touring Topics, 1909-1959*.

*The New Almaden Quicksilver Mine*. By Kenneth M. Johnson. (The Talisman Press, Georgetown, Calif., 1963. 115 pp., $8.50.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Both the publisher and the author promise in dust jacket and introduction more than the work can deliver in its brief pages. One is promised a "complete history" of this significant and controversial mine located in the Coast Range not far from San Jose and situated on lands that at various times were claimed by the Berreyesas, by the Larios family, by a prominent political figure of mid-nineteenth century Mexico, Andrés Castillero, and by others. The subject of protracted controversy and drawn-out litigation, the obvious value of a mercury mine in Gold Rush California was evident to the various contesting parties and even to the United States government. Both operation of the mine and the legal battle concerning it involved a number of prominent people, not only Californians but also such national figures as Abraham Lincoln, Edward M. Stanton, Henry W. Halleck, Edward Bates, and Frederick Billings. A series of seemingly unbelievable court decisions led to the eventual loss of the cinnebar ore deposits to the most logical claimants, the New Almaden Company, and eventually in an amicable, though short, sale of the property during the Civil War. Perhaps this resulted from some anti-British feeling in the United States, coupled with the fact that the strongest claim was advanced by British commercial interests, successors to the Castillero claim. A final sale price to the rival Quicksilver Mining Company was a mere $1,750,000, only a fraction of the actual value of the property, and was consummated just prior to an adverse court decision, thereby finally quieting title.

If author Johnson has, as he indicates, told the whole story, then he has done a tremendous job of condensation, for in the mere transcript of the New Almaden case before the U. S. District Court there are 3,584 pages and the Supreme Court decision in the case is a lengthy 371 pages. To have condensed all of this material and all other information of the 117-year history of the mine into about 87 pages of text seems improbable. It is the opinion of the reviewer that the author has again hit only the surface deposits of documentary evidence, and there is still some of the elusive essence to be uncovered by a future historical miner who might go to the research with better equipment, or more luck, or with greater space at his disposal. Certainly the lack of accent marks on Spanish words, the frequent misspellings, and some notable inconsistencies mar what is otherwise a very satisfactorily written work. As a result of this skill in composition, of some well chosen pictorial material, and of pleasing format, the book should prove to be successful.

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Donald C. Cutter, professor of Western American history at the University of New Mexico, is a specialist in California history. Author of *Malaspina in California*, he is a consistent contributor to numerous scholarly journals.

*From New Spain by Sea to the Californias: 1519-1668.* By Maurice G. Holmes. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1963. 307 pp. $11.00.) Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

As Volume IX of the *Spain in the West Series*, General Holmes' book opens the way again for further research in Hispanic maritime exploration in California by posing many problems heretofore overlooked. While the title belies its contents, since this work is far from being a complete treatise of Spanish naval activity in California during the time span mentioned, these new questions are presented within a framework of general background history.

In introducing his book, General Holmes presents his *dramatis personae* and the stage upon which they played. His statements, however, that Spain was without threat in the Pacific until the ninteenth century and that corsairs were of little import in the area, is for the most part without foundation historically, since the activities of the Dutch and English were a periodic threat to the maintenance of the Pacific as a "Spanish lake," and since this threat was the cause for many of the voyages discussed by the author in later chapters.

The first three chapters of *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias* deal with the machinations of Hernán Cortés and his relationship with Pedro de Alvarado for the conquest of the Californias. While discussing quite thoroughly the activities of these two *conquistadores*, another *conquistador* who was closely related to the Cortés expeditions, Nuño de Guzmán, has been greatly underplayed. Also, the strong criticism of the Alarcón expedition's failure in relation to the Coronado expedition seems somewhat excessive, since the co-ordination of these was ultimately successful.

Chapters four and five discuss the voyages and explorations of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. A mysterious character due to speculations of early historians, Rodríguez Cabrillo is discussed in great detail and much relating to his personal history is revealed. It is of consternation to this reviewer, however, that, while Rodríguez Cabrillo is never once mentioned as being a Portuguese, nonetheless he is continually referred to as "Cabrillo." The discussion of Juan Paez and his writings is also most revealing as to the character of this little known seafarer. A fine appendix of documents relating to Rodríguez Cabrillo complements these chapters.

Spanish security in relation to maritime activities is the subject of Chapter VI and is well discussed and explained in a manner which shows the author's understanding as a military man of such matters. While clearly showing the need of Spain's cautious approach to the publicizing of her explorations and conquests due to the threats from other European powers, this reviewer believes that the criticisms of Sebastián Vizcaíno (not "Juan" Sebastián Vizcaíno, as the author states), a merchant and not a professional mariner, are not properly taken when the nature of exploration and the accuracy of observations are fully considered.

Furthering his discussion of foreign activity in the Pacific in Chapter VII, General Holmes speculates as to the existence of non-European naval activity along the coast of New Spain. While of great interest, and the basis for further research, this account of sightings is too highly controversial and too little in itself to allow the conclusions that the voyagers sighted in 1573 were not European. The evidence presented is reasonable but insufficient, for, while Alarcón's Indians claimed to be from the west "beyond the ocean sea" and the sails of the vessels were not reported as being of the shape common to European ships, the reported presence of unidentified ships, Spanish or otherwise, is not unusual in the sixteenth century any more than the fact that many whales, mirages, and ghost ships have caused problems of identification and false reports. Certainly the Nahua word root *zaca* signifying "grass" is not sufficient evidence for the presence of peoples from a land where a similar word is used.

Chapter VIII returns to the activities of Spain in the waters off the Californias, and while the discussion of Vizcaíno's activities follows the course of history, and the author's criticism of many of Vizcaíno's actions are most justifiable, particularly in the failure of that explorer to exploit the use of *xocohuistles (pithaya agria)* for use as an antiscorbutic, these criticisms do not lead to the conclusion made that Vizcaíno alone was "inept." Contrary to the statements made by General Holmes, the profile of the bay of San Diego in the Martín Palacios *derrotero* is, for the period, quite good, and this reviewer having watched sailing vessels clearing Cabo San Lucas from El Chileno and San Lucas has yet to see one clear these bays without the use of auxiliary engines because of the currents which combat the favorable winds in that locality.

Chapter IX returns the reader to the sixteenth century and the early voyages to California. Names seldom heard of in the discussion of California history are here brought forth—Urdaneta, Gali, Unamuno, and Cermeño. The voyages of these men, while not of great consequence in themselves, show clearly the continued activity of the Spanish Crown in the Pacific.

In conclusion, General Holmes discusses the abandonment of California in the mid-seventeenth century, again criticizing Vizcaíno, who, while having many shortcomings, was deemed adept enough to construct a road from Mexico City to Zacatula in 1606, head the Spanish Embassy to Japan in 1614, and command the garrison at Salagua in 1616. The author further states, repeating Charles Edward Chapman's error in this regard, that the famous engineer and cosmographer who redrafted Vizcaíno's charts, Enrico Martínez, was hanged shortly following the return of the Vizcaíno expedition. How then, one may ask, was this same Martínez one of the leading printers of Mexico, the engineer of the drainage of the City of Mexico in 1629, and the object of a monument in the Zócalo of that city for his contribution to its safety from floods? Notwithstanding the errors noted, a detailed discussion of the virtually unknown Piñadero and Lucenilla voyages to the Gulf of California is of great value. Nonetheless, this reviewer, having sailed the Gulf of California, cannot see the objection by the author that at 31° N. the gulf cannot have a width of twelve leagues, for it is far less than that distance from Isla Tiburón to Punto San Gabriel. Unfortunately, some of the value judgments concluding this book are extremely weak, for history clearly shows that one of the major factors in maintaining Spanish exploitation in California was the necessity of supply, and certainly the early Spanish navigations to California were not without impact, for if nothing else they served as Spain's basis for claims of possession along the Pacific coast of North America.

Holmes' bibliography is very complete as to published works, but somewhat less so in manuscript materials. Also the use of obsolete citations to manuscripts in the Museo Naval can be confusing.

Despite its shortcomings, *From New Spain by Sea to the Californias* is written in a pleasing style and is nautically well oriented. As always, the fine workmanship of Arthur H. Clark is immediately apparent and this volume is important for the student and collector of Spanish Californiana.

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Michael Mathes, who recently completed a tour of archival research in Spain on Spanish Naval explorations on the coasts of the Californias, is currently special collections librarian at the University of New Mexico.

*El Gran Capitán, José de la Guerra.* By Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M. (Los Angeles, Calif., Cabrera & Sons, 1961. 244 pp. $5.20.) Reviewed by Florian F. Guest, O.F.M.

José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega left his native province of Santander in northern Spain at an early age, spent about eight years with relatives in Mexico City, joined the Spanish army, and was assigned to Monterey in California, where he arrived on August 9, 1801. With the rank of ensign, he served as paymaster in the presidio until 1806. Promoted to the rank of lieutenant, he continued his service as paymaster at San Diego from 1806 to 1809. In 1810 he went to Mexico in the capacity of paymaster-general for both Californias but was forced to return because of the confusion that prevailed during the Mexican Revolution. Appointed commander of the Santa Barbara presidio in 1815, he was elevated to the rank of captain in 1819 and retained his post with honor and distinction until his retirement in 1842. He died in 1858 as one of southern California's most eminent citizens.

As captain of the presidio at Santa Barbara, De la Guerra held a position of more than military importance. He was on intimate terms with California's governors, both Spanish and Mexican. But for his Castilian blood, he would have become the first governor of the province during the Mexican Period. He was the apostolic syndic of the Franciscan missionaries of California. That is to say, he was custodian of the donations and alms employed for their personal needs. As their close and trusted friend, he was affectionately dubbed *El Justo*. During the Mexican Period he became one of California's outstanding *rancheros* and enjoyed all the prestige that comes with great wealth. Lavish of hospitality, arbiter in local disputes, generous benefactor of the poor, known locally as *El Patriarca*, he was Santa Barbara's most prominent citizen for almost half a century and the founder of one of California's most distinguished families.

Depending mostly on primary sources, the book traces De la Guerra's fortunes through his assignments at Monterey, San Diego, and Santa Barbara. It tells of his brush with foreign sea captains off the Santa Barbara coast in 1816, his exchange of prisoners with Bouchard in 1818, his pursuit of runaway mission Indians, his position of military and political importance at the beginning of the Mexican Period, his suppression of the Indian revolt in 1824, his experience as deputy to the Mexican congress in 1827, and his wise and temperate refusal to become involved as a participant in the various revolutions that occurred in California in the 1840's. Generous appendices provide useful information on such related topics as the Santa Barbara presidio, Captain José Darío Argüello, the romance between Concepción Argüello and Count Rezanof, the relationship between José de la Guerra and the Council of Baltimore, the De la Guerra *ranchos*, and the De la Guerra family papers.

Occasionally the author would have been well advised to supplement his narrative with more abundant material from secondary sources. The casual reader may be expected to wish for more information on such topics as commerce in contraband, the sea-otter trade, runaway mission Indians, town government in California, and the support of the presidios by the missions in the later Spanish and early Mexican periods.

From the standpoint of historical objectivity, the principal feature of the book is its apologetic character, a trait which is readily understandable: the author is José de la Guerra's great-grandson. It must be observed, however, that, nothwithstanding this scientific disadvantage, the biographer is thorough and meticulous in his use of historical sources.

This brief biography offers an interesting insight into the history of California from the standpoint of a presidio commander in the Spanish and Mexican periods, and it points to opportunities for additional research in the history of the presidios and of their relationship with the missions, towns, and ranchos.

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FLORIAN F. GUEST, O.F.M., a doctoral graduate of the University of Southern California and a member of the Academy of American Franciscan History, is a specialist in California history.

*California: A History.* By Andrew F. Rolle. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1963. 649 pp. $8.95.) Reviewed by Sister M. Anita, I.H.M.

*California: A History* by Andrew F. Rolle, professor of history at Occidental College, contains so much information on every aspect of the state's history that it is difficult to appraise it in any minute form. As Dr. Rolle points out on the title page and in the Preface, his book is based in part upon *A Short History of California*, 1929, by Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sánchez. It is the opinion of this reviewer (who is very familiar with the aforementioned book) that the almost literal incorporation of the earlier book would have made a smoother transition with the latter part of the book if Dr. Rolle's style of writing had been employed throughout.

Its coverage of California, past, present, and future, in a one-volume history fulfills two main services: it is both a textbook for any California history survey course and a source of information to all interested in learning about the state. Although lacking in footnoting, this book compensates to some extent for this need by supplying documentation usually in the text itself; this process is helpful to the popular reader but not sufficient perhaps for the probing scholar. It should be mentioned, however, that the "Selected Readings" provided at the end of each chapter supply the reader with such a complete list of annotated selections from every type of reading material that it is difficult to find an omission. Of value also are the forty illustrations and the nine charts; the comparatively few, but well-chosen, maps are appropriately placed throughout the book. The Appendix proves a convenience by listing certain data *(e.g.*, governors, missions, pueblos, counties, etc.).

In the actual development of the history of California through the Spanish, Mexican, and American periods, the author correlates the geographical, political, social, cultural, economical, and religious perspectives in the book's thirty-six chapters. His early emphasis of the key word to describe California's climate and most of her other natural characteristics—"variety"—I consider most appropriate. Likewise I believe that he has treated the political and religious element objectively. In such a volume it is certainly understandable why Dr. Rolle could not indulge in any lengthy details; nevertheless his treatment of many subjects, for instance, the California Indians is noteworthy—as shown by the following quotation:

> The swift and relentless disappearance of the California Indians, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, is both tragic and pathetic. It seems incredible that between the beginning of the American period and the opening of the twentieth century their number declined from 100,000 to 15,550. In these few decades a proud people were utterly broken in health and morale.

Dr. Rolle's intermittent sections on social and cultural developments evidence much research on the customs, institutions, and progress of Californians through the years. The stupendous amount of factual and statistical data on education, labor, politics, literature, art, music, municipalities—corruption and reform—

water, smog, freeways, conservation, agriculture, drama, architecture, aircraft and space, economic diversification, new industries, population changes, etc., besides the chronological historical development of California, makes this book a veritable reservoir of just about every kind of reference material in a secondary source. Some examples of the foregoing that might be cited are:

> Los Angeles and San Francisco both undertook reconstruction of their central civic areas during the 1950's and 1960's. At Los Angeles this amounted to nothing less than face-lifting large areas of the downtown section of the city. Around a central mall that covered 228 acres, new buildings, twenty to forty stories high, were constructed to house federal, state, county and city government offices. This became the largest aggregate of government buildings outside the national capital (pp. 571-572).
>
> The chief reason that California has become the leading agricultural state in the nation is that it continues to produce virtually every crop, indeed more than 200, that can be grown commercially in the temperate zone (p. 597).
>
> ... Just as freeways seem sure to give way to lightweight monorail lines, so must local government evolve new forms to meet the challenge of the urban sprawl (p. 612).

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SISTER M. ANITA, I.H.M., is both an assistant professor of Western American history and chairman of the department at Immaculate Heart College.

*San Francisco YMCA 1853-1963.* By Clifford M. Drury. (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. 256 pp. $8.00.) Reviewed by Ruth Teiser.

Although clergymen in the eastern states earnestly warned young men against joining the gold rush to California, San Francisco's 1853 population of some fifty thousand souls consisted mainly of young male American immigrants.

"With the rooming houses and hotels packed with young men, the gambling houses, bars, and brothels had a lucrative source of customers," writes Dr. Clifford M. Drury. "Where was the lonesome young man to spend his leisure hours if not in the gaudily decorated dance hall or the richly festooned saloon? The city did not have a free public library until June 1879. Motion pictures were then unknown. The whole amusement life of the city was monopolized by men whose primary motive was money and not morality."

It was a young Ohio lawyer, William K. Osborn, who, after three years' observation of such conditions, led the establishment of a San Francisco chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association in the summer of 1853. Late that year its small group of charter members tacked up public notices that the organization, "established in this city for the moral and mental improvement of young men," had opened rooms over the Post Office and welcomed "all residents of San Francisco and strangers arriving in this city."

Largely concerned with Protestant evangelism in its initial decades, the organization early added social services needed by the community. Its first rooms included a library. Because many young men who came to California lost contact with their families in their restless wanderings, it established a letter forwarding service. Because many young men arrived in a state of bewilderment and impoverishment, it offered them help in finding decent lodgings and jobs. In addition to a street preaching program, prayer meetings and Bible classes, social events were arranged to which members might invite young ladies. And when, in 1868, a new three-story YMCA building on Post Street was completed, it contained a gymnasium.

"This three-fold emphasis," Dr. Drury explains, "gave rise to the official symbol, the familiar red triangle, each side of which represents one of [the] three aspects—the spiritual, the mental, and the physical."

In the years since 1868, the San Francisco Y has continued to grow and change with the times. Its social services have been adapted to earthquake, war and economic depression. In place of evangelism has come stress upon the inter-faith aspect of religion. In place of formal social events has come an increasingly elastic recreational and sports program. As the author observes, "A good place to trace out the changing mores of Protestants in the United States would be the history of the YMCA."

Dr. Drury, California Professor of Church History at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, is an experienced historian of American and Western Protestantism. He has brought broad knowledge to this study, but he has hewn closely to the subject itself. The reader may regret that more is not made of Dwight L. Moody's 1881 reorganization of the lagging San Francisco YMCA and campaign for funds for its rebirth. It must have been a dramatic story, as anyone who has read the San Francisco newspaper accounts of Moody and Sankey's meetings here well knows.

Yet one cannot object to Dr. Drury's apparent determination to concentrate firmly upon the history of the organization, giving only such accessory information as is necessary to explain it. He has accomplished the difficult task of selecting that material which he found meaningful and organizing it well. He has written with firmness, always guided by a sense of the importance of his subject in and for itself.

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RUTH TEISER, a member of the Society's Editorial Advisory Committee, is a specialist in California local history whose articles have appeared in *Westways*.

# Book Notices

*By* Anna Marie and Everett Hager

Two travel books with photographs and a chatty introduction to the Far West have recently been authored. Stewart Holbrook's *The Wonderful West* (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963. 154 pp. $4.95) contains a rapid-fire approach to the Far West, as well as sixty-seven fine photographs in full color and a bibliography of thirty-two titles. Keith Monroe in a jaunty, informative manner attempts to span the boundaries of *California* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1963. 256 pp. $4.50) for the would-be-resident or tourist. The author has taken on the formidable task of informing the reader on "How to Live, Work and Have Fun in the Golden State."

Three interesting reprints were recently published. The tenth of the series of Americana Classics, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of the Northwest Passage Between Asia and America,* by John Ledyard, has been reproduced from its original narrative of the first edition that was published in 1783 in Hartford. First issued by Stanford University Press in 1950, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre,* by Juanita Brooks (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 316 pp. $5.95), has now been published in revised form, making readily available this detailed treatment of a controversial piece of Western American and Mormon history. A most welcome reprint of Terry Stephenson's *Don Bernardo Yorba* (Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1963. 116 pp. $3.75), with a postscript by Don Meadows, re-emphasizes Stephenson's rare awareness of the rich historical lore of his own countryside and also his keen literary eye in capturing the historic backgrounds of Orange County, California.

The American Library Association stated at one time that the real history of our cities and towns and of our community life lies in the files of the nation's home town newspapers. Through the medium of interested townspeople, an interesting and valuable photographic chronicle of days past and present of the city of Sanger, California, has been captured in the Diamond Jubilee, *Progress* Edition of the *Sanger-Herald* (740 N Street, Sanger, California. 114 pp. $1.00).

A new series, entitled *Great Lives for Young Americans,* introduces Paul Rink's *Building the Bank of America: A. P. Giannini* (Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica Press, 1963. 192 pp. $2.95). This work has been keyed to a younger audience than that reached through the medium of the *Quarterly.* A good biographical study, it will prove of interest to teaching staffs of secondary schools in California history.

First published in 1880 in *The Californian*, Theodore H. Hittell's *El Triunfo de la Cruz: The First Ship Built in the Californias* appears under the careful planning of The California Historical Society and of The Tamalpais Press of Roger Levenson. It is the inspiring story of Father Juan Ugarte, a determined man, who in spite of tremendous obstacles succeeded in launching *El Triunfo de la Cruz* (San Francisco, The California Historical Society. 16 pp. $2.95).

# RECENT CALIFORNIANA

## A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

*Compiled by* NOEL STOWE

### BOOKS

ADAMS, VIRGINIA, and ANSEL ADAMS. *Illustrated Guide to Yosemite.* San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1963. $2.95

AUSTIN, MARY HUNTER. *One Hundred Miles on Horesback.* Introduction by Donald P. Ringler. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. $7.50

BARKER, M. A. R. *Klamath Dictionary.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. Paper, $8.00

BEEBE, LUCIUS MORRIS. *The Overland Limited.* Berkeley, Howell-North, Books, 1963. $5.95

BURTON, SIR RICHARD FRANCIS. *The Look of the West, 1860: Across the Plains to California.* Foreword by Robert G. Athearn. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963. Paper, $1.60

CASRIEL, DANIEL. *So Fair a House: The Story of Synanon.* Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1963. $4.95

*A Catalogue of Books, Manuscripts, and Other Materials from the Upton Sinclair Archives.* Bloomington, The Lilly Library, Indiana University, 1963. Apply

*The Coming of Justice to California: Three Documents.* Translated by Adelaide Smithers, edited by John Galvin. San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1963. $7.50

CROUCH, WINSTON WINFORD, and BEATRICE DINERMAN. *Southern California Metropolis: A Study in Development of Government for a Metropolitan Area.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $7.50

CRUMP, SPENCER. *Redwoods, Iron Horses and the Pacific.* Los Angeles, Trans-Anglo Books, 1963. $12.50

DELISLE, HAROLD F. *Wildlife of the Southern California Mountains.* Edited by Vinson Brown. Healdsburg, Calif., Naturegraph, 1963. $3.50; paper, $1.95

DUKE, DONALD, and STAN KISTLER. *Santa Fe: Steel Rails Through California.* San Marino, Golden West Book, Pacific Railroad Publications, 1963. $10.00

ENGELHARDT, ZEPHYRIN. *Mission San Luis Obispo in the Valley of the Bears.* Santa Barbara, W. T. Genns, 1963. $10.00

FORD, PAMELA S. *Political Activities and the Public Service: A Continuing Problem.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. Paper, $2.50

FRAZER, ROBERT W., ed. *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. $4.95

FRIEND, JACK. *Captain Jack: Being the Reminiscences of a Sea-Going Bookseller.* Long Beach, Seashore Press, 1963. $5.00

HINE, ROBERT V., and EDWIN R. BINGHAM. *The Frontier Experience.* Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1963. $6.95

HOLTZMAN, ABRAHAM. *The Townsend Movement: A Political Study.* Introduction by Wilbur J. Cohen. New York, Bookman, 1963. $5.00

JOHNSTON, HANK, and JAMES LAW. *Railroads of the Yosemite Valley.* Los Angeles, Trans-Anglo Books, 1963. $12.50

KENNEDY, JOHN CASTILLO. *The Great Earthquake and Fire, San Francisco, 1906.* New York, Morrow, 1963. $5.00

LANTIS, DAVID W., RODNEY STEINER, and ARTHUR E. KARINEN. *California: Land of Contrast.* Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1963. $15.00

MOODY, RALPH OWEN. *The Old Trails West.* New York, Crowell, 1963. $6.95

MORGAN, DALE L., and GEORGE P. HAMMOND, eds. *A Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library: Volume I—Pacific and Western Manuscripts (except California).* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $15.00

MOWRY, GEORGE EDWIN. *The California Progressives.* Chicago, Quadrangle, 1963. Paper, $1.95

MYRICK, DAVID F. *Railroads of Nevada and Eastern California: Volume Two—The Southern Roads.* Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1963. $12.50

NASATIR, A. P., ed. *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush.* Georgetown, California, Talisman Press, 1964. $10.00

OUTLAND, CHARLES F. *Man Made Disaster: The Story of St. Francis Dam, Its Place in Southern California's Water System, Its Failure and Tragedy of March 12 and 13, 1928 in the Santa Clara River Valley.* Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. $9.50

PARKER, C. W., and MARILYN PARKER. *Orange County: Indians to Industry.* Santa Ana, Orange County Title Company, 1963. Apply

PARKER, HORACE. *Anza-Borrego Desert Guide Book: Southern California's Last Frontier.* Balboa Island, California, Paisano Press, 1963. $2.95

REED, LESTER. *Old Time Cattlemen and Other Pioneers of the Anza-Borrego Area.* Palm Desert, California, Desert Printers, 1963. $3.50

SHIPLEY, WILLIAM F. *Maidu Texts and Dictionary.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. Paper, $5.00

STANGER, FRANK M. *South From San Francisco: San Mateo County, California—Its History and Heritage.* San Mateo, San Mateo County Historical Society, 1963. $5.95

STUMP, VERA. *The Tamalpais Story, 1906-1960.* Sausalito, Graphic Arts of Marin, 1963. Paper, $.50

WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN. *The Transportation Frontier: Trans-Mississippi West, 1865-1890.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964. $4.50

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**Anderson, T. J., and E. C. Lee.** "1962 Election in California," *Western Political Quarterly,* XVI (June, 1963).

**Baumhoff, M. A., and D. L. Olmsled.** "Palaihnihan: Radiocarbon Support for Glotochronology," *American Anthropologist,* 65 (April, 1963).

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**Bledsoe, Howard.** "Pen Pictures of Ventura County," *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly,* IX (November, 1963).

**Bowman, J. N.** "Establishment of Mt. Diablo Lines," *Pacific Historian,* VII (August, 1963).

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**Buckner, Carroll V.** "El Adobe de Los Robles Rancho," *Fresno Past and Present,* 5 (July, 1963).

**Camp, Charles L.** "Old Doctor Yates," *Journal of the West,* II (October, 1963).

**Carranco, Lynwood.** "Americanisms in the Redwood Country," *Western Folklore,* XXII (October, 1963).

**Chase, Don M., and Doris H. Chase.** "Bibliography of Sources Relating to Jedediah Strong Smith," *Pacific Historian,* VII (August, 1963; November, 1963).

**Cobb, Gwendolin B.** "Reedley—Fifty Years Old," *Fresno Past and Present,* 6 (January, 1964).

**Constantine, Edmond.** "Intraparty Attitude Conflict: Democratic Party Leadership in California." *Western Political Quarterly,* XVI (December, 1963).

**Cutter, Donald C.** "Early Spanish Artists on the Northwest Coast," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly,* 54 (October, 1963).

**Donkin, R. A.** "The Contribution of the Franciscan Missions to the Settlement of Alta California Colonization (1769-1823)," *Revista de Historia de America,* 52 (December, 1961).

**Englebert, E. A.** "Legislative Reorganization in California," *State Government,* 36 (Winter, 1963).

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WOOD, RAYMOND. "Railroads in Fresno County," *Fresno Past and Present*, 5 and 6 (July, 1963; October, 1963; January, 1964).

# Book of Remembrance

1963

Clark Lorenzo Abbott, M.D.
Lucy Helen Allyne
Josephine McLaughlin Ast
Leavitt Baker
Louise H. Bancroft
John Franklin Barnard
Helen Heath Blatchly
Jean MacGregor Boyd
Clarascott Goodloe Bruce
Edward Wheatley Bullard
Emile Jean Cardinal
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Eva D. Clamer
Joseph Clement
Oscar Cooper
Edith Margaret Coulter
George Magee Cunningham
George A. Davidson
Hubert V. Dieden
Effa Eversole Digby
Charlotte Du Frane
George Alexander Du Frane
Edgar Wallace Dutton
William Jefferson Elliott
Kenneth Loveland Ferguson
Nelda Fisher
Timothy Ignatius Fitzpatrick
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Reine L. Yehl

# In Memoriam

## THE ALLYNE SISTERS

Edith Winslow Allyne, spinster, died on March 11, 1960, at the age of eighty-four years, in the house where she was born on November 14, 1877, at 2609 Gough Street, San Francisco.

Lucy Helen Allyne, spinster, died on June 19, 1963, at the age of eighty-nine years, but spent the last four and one-half years of her life invalided at Children's Hospital.

Their father, John Allyne, who died in San Francisco on December 4, 1901, held title to some oil lands and sold kerosene to the Southern Pacific Company, later selling these lands to Standard Oil Company of California. He and his partner, William H. White, then invested in San Francisco and New York real estate. This was the foundation of the Allyne fortune.

The Allyne sisters, on their father's side, were direct descendants of Governor Winslow, the first governor of Massachusetts and claimed Leland Stanford as their uncle. Their mother, Mary N. Allyne, died in San Francisco on September 13, 1921. Her father was Ephraim Burr, a former mayor of San Francisco and later president of a San Francisco bank.

Edith and Lucy were brought up by strict and puritanical standards. They were taught economy and care of material things—for instance, always pulling down the shades because the sun would fade the carpets. The sisters were educated at Miss West's, a leading private school of the last century. Lucy had promising artistic talent and studied under J. C. Latimer. She learned to paint in water colors quite well and became a charter member of the San Francisco Women's Artists. Edith collected things, such as postage stamps and coins. The girls were inseparable and where one went the other was sure to be. They were very tall women, Edith being the taller and approximately six feet. They traveled a great deal, visiting the Orient, Europe and the Hawaiian Islands.

Edith and Lucy were very generous always in every way, giving support to relatives and friends as well as to charitable societies. They gave the Octagon House and the land on which it is situated, on Gough near Union Streets, to the Colonial Dames of America. They endowed, in 1958 and 1959, a hospital bed in Children's Hospital for the San Francisco Ladies Protective & Relief Society. Edith was a member of the Lady Manageresses of the San Francisco Ladies Protective & Relief Society, to which she gave flats on Francisco Street in which the help was housed. Lucy was a member of the Board of Trustees of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco. They willed their fortune to educational institutions and charity.

The Allyne sisters became members of the Society in 1926 and were Patron Members at the time of their deaths.

Ferard Leicester

# DONORS OF GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

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*Courtesy of Irving W. Robbins, Jr.*

Susanna Bryant Dakin is Named a Fellow of the Society
*Left to right:* Former President Albert Shumate, Susanna Bryant Dakin.
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# HISTORIES OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

## WELLS FARGO BANK

On March 25, 1960, the West's two oldest banks—Wells Fargo Bank and American Trust Company—merged to form Wells Fargo Bank and American Trust Company.

The joining of these two names brought together a unit type institution with outstanding skill in the field of "wholesale" and specialized banking, and a pioneer organization in the field of branch banking and "retail" banking services.

Wells Fargo Bank, linked with California History from 1852, began as Wells Fargo & Company, Express and Banking, in San Francisco. Its stage lines and banking offices played a major part in the opening of the West after the California Gold Rush. During its 108-year history, two prominent San Francisco banks—the Nevada Bank and the Union Trust Company—merged with Wells Fargo and became major forces in its growth and development.

The American Trust Company, one of the largest banking institutions on the Pacific Coast, began its history in 1854 as the San Francisco Accumulating Fund Association which in 1857 became California's first incorporated bank. The name American Trust Company came into being on January 1, 1927, as the result of the merger of The American Bank and the Mercantile Trust Company of California.

Since the merger in March, 1960, the bank has continued to grow and to expand its operations throughout Northern California. In March of 1963 it had 146 offices and 3 military facilities, and was the third largest bank in California and the eleventh largest in the United States.

## THE SAN RAFAEL INDEPENDENT-JOURNAL

The Independent-Journal, Marin County's only daily newspaper, observed the 100th anniversary of its founding on March 23, 1961.

The old *Marin County Journal*, one of the components of the present *I-J* was founded in 1861. The first issues were printed in an old rooming house in San Rafael. Mechanical equipment consisted of a Washington hand press and a few cases of handset type. Only a couple of hundred copies were needed to service 3,500 people, the entire population of Marin County.

In 1948, the *Marin Journal*, a morning daily was consolidated with the *San Rafael Independent*, an afternoon daily, to form the *Independent-Journal*.

Today's *I-J* circulation exceeds 31,000 daily, reaching most of Marin County's 160,000-plus population.

The newspaper presently is printed on a 48-page high speed color press. The *I-J* recently became one of the first newspapers in the West to install Linofilm, an advanced electronic system of typesetting.

The newspaper presently is owned and operated by the Roy A. Brown and Justus F. Craemer families. Both Brown and Craemer have served as presidents of the National Editorial Association and the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

In its 100-year history, the *Independent-Journal* has always been editorially outspoken for those things which would encourage the growth and development of Marin County.

## LEVI STRAUSS & COMPANY

When Levi Strauss sailed from New York in 1850 he added a bundle of fabrics to his baggage to be used as a grub stake in the California gold fields. In Sacramento Strauss learned his cloth would bring a good profit if made into sturdy pants for the prospectors, and gave up any ideas of looking for gold himself. He had found his own mine in a style of pants which was to become known around the world as "Levi's."

On Battery Street in San Francisco, Levi's descendants still work the same mine. It has proved to contain considerable ore. The original Levi's jeans practically unchanged in style over 112 years have been joined by a wide variety of Western and sportswear which is being sold throughout the United States and in 64 foreign countries.

The company is family and employee owned and actively managed by Walter Haas, Jr., and Peter Haas, great grandnephews of Levi Strauss.

The firm currently operates 13 plants in seven states and has a number of contract plants working for it. A warehouse and distributing facility was recently added in Antwerp, Belgium, to expedite European deliveries.

Now the nation's largest manufacturer of brand-name wash and wear trousers, Levi Strauss & Company, in its 113th year, is still growing, and the gold mine discovered by old Levi in San Francisco during the gold rush continues to pay out handsomely.

## P & O-ORIENT LINES, INC.

P & O-Orient Lines' North American headquarters were opened in May, 1960, in San Francisco. The company's history, however, dates back to the early 1800's when The Peninsular Steam Navigation Company was founded. In the 1840's, the company contracted to carry mail between England and Egypt and by 1842 had extended its service to India, then on to China and Australia. The origins of the Orient Line also date back to the time of the Napoleonic wars and by the 1850's the Orient Line had a fleet of fast clipper ships serving Austarlia.

The story of today's P & O-Orient Lines' service to North American ports and the Pacific began in 1954 with the successful pilot voyage of the Orient liner, *Oronsay*. In 1958 the first P & O liner, *Himalaya,* called at the West Coast, and in 1959 the new combined line opened its service from the West Coast to the Orient. The two companies, P & O and Orient Lines, had merged sailing schedules in the Pacific and created the world's largest passenger fleet of 13 ships, eight of which operate in the Pacific and call at the North American ports of Vancouver, San Francisco, and Long Beach.

During the past three years, the North American company has increased its passenger bookings by 80 per cent. The addition of two new superliners, the *Oriana* and the *Canberra*, to the Pacific fleet have increased the berthing capacity of the Pacific fleet by nearly 30 per cent. With a Sales, Research, Traffic, and Public Relations departments, the San Francisco staff has grown from 20 members to over 100. Offices have been opened in Vancouver and Los Angeles.

## THE EMPORIUM CAPWELL COMPANY

Forefather to The Emporium, The Golden Rule Bazaar was established in San Francisco in 1872, and specialized in toys, wheel goods, cutlery, and dry goods.

A group headed by A. B. C. Dohrmann opened the mighty Emporium in 1896 on a former site of St. Ignatius College. First of its type on the Pacific Coast, The Emporium Department Store consisted of various departments which were leased to firms considered to be outstanding in their lines of merchandise.

In July, 1897, Golden Rule Bazaar merged with The Emporium and combined into one of the city's most popular institutions.

The Great Earthquake and Fire literally destroyed Downtown San Francisco. Only the façade of The Emporium remained amid the surrounding ruins. The Emporium was, however, the first store to open its doors to a needy city in a temporary location. Meanwhile the new Emporium was constructed on the site of the old one and opened to the public on October 1, 1908. As business increased, additional floors and facilities were opened: the basement store in 1911, a new service building in 1916, and new service property in 1918.

In 1927 The Emporium purchased H. C. Capwell's in Oakland. Two years later a new Capwell's was opened at Broadway and 20th Streets.

The Emporium Stonestown, first of the suburban stores, was opened by The Emporium Capwell Company in 1952. Between 1954 and 1963 the company opened these suburban stores: Capwell's Walnut Creek, The Emporium Stanford, Capwell's Hayward, The Emporium Stevens Creek, Capwell's El Cerrito, and The Emporium Hillsdale. In mid-1964, the company will open The Emporium Marin in San Rafael.

## WILSON & GEO. MEYER & COMPANY

One of San Francisco's oldest firms whose beginnings date back to the lusty days of gold is Wilson & Geo. Meyer & Company.

The Gold Rush was still in full flood when William Meyer came to California and stayed to found Rogers, Meyer & Company, a predecessor of the present firm. This pioneer firm engaged in bringing to the new state materials and products needed for its development. Cargoes of iron, coal, cement, chemicals, and many other products came around the Horn in sailing vessels chartered by the company.

The early days of bringing in basic materials gradually gave way to a new era as the West developed its own industry and agriculture. The Meyer firm changed with it. As Meyer, Wilson & Company, it turned more toward handling agricultural and industrial chemicals and representing manufacturers, both foreign and domestic, a pattern it largely follows as Wilson & Geo. Meyer & Company today.

The firm proudly represents Eastman Chemical Products, Inc., a subsidiary of Eastman Kodak Company, for the distribution and sale of chemicals and plastics on the West Coast.

Jeffery W. Meyer, a great-great-grandnephew of Vigilante William Meyer, is president of the 113-year-old firm. Wilson Meyer is chairman of the board.

## SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK

The Security First National Bank, serving the southern 14 counties of California through its more than 280 community offices from Fresno to the Mexican border, has the distinction of being one of the oldest banks in the Southland.

In Los Angeles and most of the cities served, the facility dates back to when the community could first support a bank. In many instances these were the times before railroads, highways, trucks, and autos. These were the days of community founding, when ranges were being subdivided into homesites for the flow of immigrants from the East—then, even as today.

The Security Bank of today was created through a maze of mergers and consolidations. The largest merger was in 1929 bringing together the Security Trust & Savings Bank and the Los Angeles-First National Bank, at the time the largest savings and commercial bank in Los Angeles. Later came the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles, which was established in 1871. In 1957 the Citizens Bank of Riverside and Security Trust of San Diego joined the Security family, greatly enhancing the area served. Many other important banks joined the Security system between 1900 and the current period, with the first branch office being established in 1912.

The growth and longevity of the Security Bank is attributable to being located in an ever-growing area creating expanding groups of valued customers and following the sound banking principles of its several founding fathers.

## BEKINS VAN & STORAGE COMPANY

In 1848, Sjoerd Bekius, with 86 other immigrants, left Holland for America. Shipwrecked in the Bahamas, they were rescued and landed at New Orleans. Sjoerd Bekius made his way to Michigan, married, and became a farmer.

In 1891, two sons—Martin and John Bekius (now Bekins)—started a small moving business in Sioux City, Iowa. In 1893 another brother, Taeke, was taken into the business, and Martin and John moved on to Omaha, Nebraska, to establish a moving company there. In 1895, Martin made his way to California and established his first location in Los Angeles. A fourth brother, Daniel, came West in 1903 and started a moving business in Seattle, Washington.

Headed by the brothers Bekins, this was the beginning of the Bekins Van & Storage Company. From the small local moving business, to rail car shipping, to the present method of motor van in the United States and Canada, and sea van to all parts of the world, and with their constant addition of new warehouses, Bekins has become the largest moving and storage company in the world. Besides its 90 offices and warehouses, Bekins has over 200 agents. 1,500 pices of Bekin-owned transportation equipment, plus that owned by agents, are employed to serve Bekins' customers. Its employees, now numbering about 2,000, are provided with group insurance, medical and pension benefits, as well as profit-sharing and the privilege of stock ownership.

Third and fourth generation members of the pioneer, Sjoerd Bekius, continue to operate the Bekins Companies throughout the nation and in Canada.

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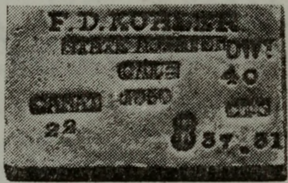

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*By* JACK D. FORBES

## McDougall of California

*By* WILLIAM LAWRENCE SHAW

## Francis Drake and Nova Albion

*By* CAPTAIN ADOLPH S. OKO

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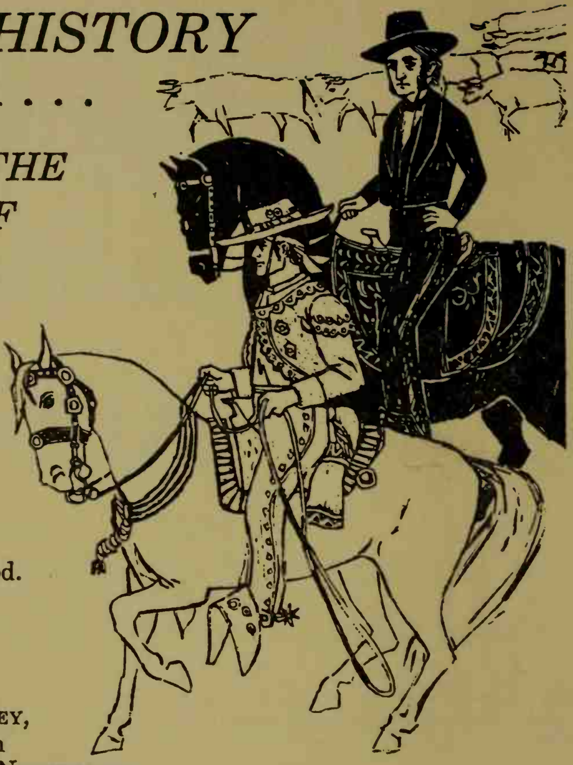
JUNE 1964



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# The Development of the Yuma Route Before 1846

### *By* JACK D. FORBES

HISTORIANS OF THE Southwest have long appreciated the importance of the expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza in 1774 which made available to the Spanish Empire the use of a land route from northwestern Mexico to California by way of the lands of the Quechan or Yuma Indians. Scholars have also noted the significance of the closing of that route to Spanish use in 1781-1783 when the Quechan nation successfully asserted its independence. On the other hand, relatively little attention has been devoted to the task of tracing the development of the Yuma route prior to 1774 or of studying its use between 1783 and the period when Anglo-American trappers appeared in the region.[1]

The Yuma route, as herein discussed, can be pictured as a collection of trails originating in southern New Mexico, northern Chihuahua and Sonora (which in the period being considered included southern Arizona) which meandered their way towards the Colorado River, gradually merging into two trails—one following the Gila River, the other crossing the desert between Sonóitac and Yuma, and both finally uniting in the vicinity of the junction of the Gila and Colorado. From the Colorado River the route once again divided itself into a number of trails, some going towards San Diego and others going in a northwesterly direction to the Los Angeles Basin.

Both archaeological and documentary evidence indicates that the Yuma route possessed considerable antiquity when Spaniards first began to learn of it. The Indians of the Colorado River region, and of adjacent areas as well, were much interested in trade and travel. Pacific Coast

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JACK D. FORBES, author of *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* and of numerous articles on Western history, has recently been awarded a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship. Currently, Dr. Forbes is an assistant professor of history at San Fernando Valley State College.

sea shells were reaching portions of Arizona as early as 300-500 A.D., although probably not by means of the Yuma route. The Gulf of California or an extension thereof may have somewhat inhibited trade between Yuma and the San Diego region prior to 1000-1400.[2] Nevertheless, the eastern portions of the route were being used quite early. By 1000 pottery manufactured in the Phoenix-Tucson region was being carried to the Colorado River, and it would appear that a definite trade route existed. One example of this southern Arizona ware has been found as far west as the San Fernando Valley, California, thus further suggesting that a trade route was in use between the Colorado River and the Los Angeles Basin. Pacific Coast shells appear to have been imported into southern Arizona during this period.[3]

Thus it would appear that in *ca.* 1000 times Arizona-Pacific Coast trade was well-developed, especially by way of the Needles area. The Indians of that region were importing not only shells from the coast but steatite and asphaltum as well. A great deal of the impetus for this development probably stemmed from the extensive trading interests of the Hohokam people of southern Arizona who appear to have established a colony as far north as Flagstaff in *ca.* 1070. They likewise were involved in the trading of live macaw birds from Mexico as far as northern Arizona in the period towards 1250.[4] With the gradual dessication of the northern remnant of the Gulf of California (or its successor, Lake Cahuilla), or even earlier when the Colorado River's delta closed off the upper Gulf *(ca.* 1000-1400), the western portions of the Yuma route undoubtedly came into use also.

The most important economic motive involved in the development of the various routes between the interior and the Pacific Coast (the Yuma route, the Halchidhoma route via Blythe, and the Mohave route via Needles) as well as in the opening up of routes north from the Gulf of California would appear to have been the shell trade. This trade was quite extensive, for archaeological sites have revealed Pacific Coast shells as far inland as New Mexico and Utah.[5]

When the first Europeans reached the Colorado River region the Yuma route, or variations thereof, was in common use. Hernando de Alarcón in 1540 found that the natives living just south of Yuma were in the habit of traveling to the east as far as Zuñi. As a matter of fact, they were aware of events which had occurred at the latter place but a few months before, and one Indian was able to describe a Zuñi village very accurately. The Colorado River Indians also had regular trading contacts with the area to the west, obtaining deerskins from the natives of the Coast Range. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542 found that the San Diego Indians had contacts with the Colorado River, for the former were aware of Spaniards in the interior who were mounted on horseback and killing Indians. Rodríguez also met natives at San Quintín, Baja California, on Catalina or San Clemente islands, and at Ventura who knew of the activities of Europeans beyond the Colorado.[6] Thus the Yuma route from New Mexico to the Pacific Coast would appear to have been in use by 1540-42.

The first European to visit the Colorado River by means of an overland route, Melchor Díaz in 1540-41, did not use any substantial portions of the trails we are concerned with here. His route apparently led due west from central Sonora to the coast of the Gulf of California and then northwest along the shore to the Colorado River. Díaz then seems to have traveled up the latter stream to perhaps Blythe where he entered California. His return journey to Sonora may have been by way of Yuma although almost nothing is known of the precise trails followed.[7]

In 1602 the expedition of Sebastián Vizcaíno along the coast of California apparently found evidence that a route was in use from the Colorado River to the Santa Barbara Channel region. A soldier with the Oñate Expedition along the Colorado in 1604 stated that he had been with Vizcaíno and had gone in search of the latter stream from the coast, thus indicating that the coastal natives knew something of the river's location.[8]

In 1604-5 the expedition of Juan de Oñate traveled along the Colorado River and discovered that, as in earlier times, the natives were notable for their travel and trade. The Indians of the Blythe area were in direct contact with the Pacific Coast and knew many details relating to an island (presumably Catalina). In fact, an Indian journeyed to the coast and returned while Oñate was along the river. These same natives were also informed in regards to the headwaters of the Colorado and knew about bison. Shell trading was very important, using both Pacific

Coast and Gulf of California shells. The Ootam (Papago) Indians who lived on the Gulf Coast apparently were trading shells to the Zuñi, and a shell trade also existed between the valley of Sonora and Zuñi. The Yuma route would appear to have been in use, for the natives at the junction of the Colorado and Gila had many acorns obtained from the west (Coast Range) and blankets obtained from the east.[9]

Nothing is known of the Yuma route between 1605 and the 1690's. However, in the latter decade Europeans began to utilize the eastern portions of the route, and the continued Indian use of the several trails is once again confirmed. Between 1691 and 1698 parties of Spaniards led by Juan Fernández de la Fuente, Blas del Castillo, Juan Mateo Manje, Eusebio Kino, and others, guided by Pima Indians, made their way as far north as the Gila River and as far west as the Caborca-Sonóitac region. In February 1699 Father Kino and Manje were guided by the Pápago leader of Sonóitac northward to the Gila, and then Kino went down the latter stream to the Colorado, guided by the leader of the Quechan Indians. Subsequently the Spaniards returned to Sonora by way of the Gila River, thus having traveled both of the major alternates of the Yuma route to the Colorado River.[10] Between 1700 and 1702 Father Kino made several additional trips to the Colorado River, always being guided by Pima, Papago, and Quechan Indians who knew the way. In 1701 Kino in addition journeyed down the east bank of the Colorado for fifteen leagues below Yuma and crossed briefly into Baja California. The following year he journeyed all the way to the mouth of the Colorado.[11]

Father Kino and Juan Manje deserve considerable credit for helping to spread knowledge of the Yuma route to other Europeans; however it is quite clear that the routes which they traveled were being used continually by Indians (including traders who were dealing in a type of blue shell which fascinated Father Kino because he assumed that it was from the Pacific Coast). The western variants of the Yuma route were also being used by natives in 1699-1702. In November, 1701, while west of the Colorado and about fifteen leagues below Yuma, Father Kino met Indians (probably Quechans) who had many blue shells. The latter stated that it was only an eight or ten days journey to the coast where the shells were obtained. In March, 1702, while at the mouth of the Colorado Kino met Indians from the west who had blue shells and "some little pots" from the Pacific Coast. These pots had been brought from the coast but a short time before by the natives, and it was said to be only a ten days journey.[12]

In the 1730's Spaniards again began to utilize the eastern approaches to the Yuma route. A silver rush at Arizonac in 1736 and the arrival of two new Jesuits, Jacobo Sedelmayr and Ignacio Keler, led to the increased activity. Between 1736 and 1743 Sedelmayr and Keler, guided by natives, retraced Kino's steps to Sonóitac and the Gila River. In 1744, 1749, and 1750 Father Sedelmayr and various soldiers, with native guides, traveled to the Colorado River, utilizing in the process three different trails. In 1744 they followed the Halchidhoma trail from the Gila northwestward to the Blythe region; in 1748 they followed the Gila directly to the Colorado; and in 1750 they used the trail by way of Sonóitac. While on the Colorado in 1750 a Quechan offered to guide the Spaniards by a more direct route back to Sonóitac, and this was done. In 1751 the Quechans recovered three horses lost by the party on the Colorado and returned them to Sonóitac. Thus it is clear that the eastern portions of the Yuma route were still being used by the Indians, although it should be noted that Quechan-Maricopa hostility had apparently closed the Gila River trail to "through traffic." The Indians of the region were still avid traders; however the goods had somewhat changed. Hopi blankets, horses, mules, Spanish manufactured goods, and slaves (to be sold to the Spaniards) had replaced sea shells as the major items involved.[13]

In 1751 the Pimas, Papagos, and Seris revolted in Sonora and prevented the use of the Yuma route by Spaniards for a number of years.[14] The Indian use of the route continued, however. In 1769 the Spaniards in Sonora learned within four months of the activities of the Portolá Expedition in California, by means of Indian travelers.[15] A successor to Kino and Sedelmayr finally appeared in the person of Fray Francisco Garcés who began to use the old trails to the Gila in 1770. In 1771, guided by Indians, Garcés journeyed to the Colorado via Sonóitac and then, again aided by natives, he crossed the river and penetrated farther along the Yuma route than either Kino or Sedelmayr had. Garcés was able to learn of definite communication between the Colorado River and the San Diego region by meeting natives, who had been to the San Diego area, near present-day Mexicali. Furthermore, the Quechan of the Yuma area knew of the Spaniards at San Diego, and some of them had apparently visited there. The Quechan also stated that some of their "relatives" were trading with Pueblo Indians to the northeast.[16]

The occupation of San Diego and Monterey by the Spanish forces in 1769 necessitated the establishment of a supply route from Sonora to California. Fortunately for the empire, both Fray Francisco Garcés and Captain Juan Bautista de Anza of Tubac Presidio in Sonora were interested in the project, and due to their ability and the use of numerous Indian guides a variant of the Yuma road was opened up from Tubac to San Gabriel, California, in 1774. In 1775 supplies and settlers were taken over the route, and the weak colony in California received some much-needed strengthening.

The first person known to have traveled the entire distance from San Gabriel to Sonora was not a Spaniard, however, but a Cochimi Indian from Baja California named Sebastián Taraval. Taraval had gone to California with the Portolá Expedition, but in 1773 he and several companions fled from San Gabriel. They made their way over the trail subsequently followed by Anza as far as the Imperial Valley Kamia village of San Sebastián. From that point Taraval's little party attempted to reach the Quechan by a direct route through the sand hills west of Yuma, but only Taraval himself survived to reach the Colorado River. From the latter place he was taken to Sonora by Salvador Palma, a leader of the Quechan. In 1774 Taraval was able to serve as a guide for the first Anza Expedition.[17]

The Anza Expeditions are sufficiently well-known, thanks to Herbert E. Bolton's monumental studies, to render it unnecessary for a review of them here. It should be noted, however, that all through the mid-1770's there is evidence of continuous Indian communication between the Pacific Coast, the Colorado River, and Sonora. The Quechan were traveling to Sonora regularly in order to trade slaves to the Spaniards and acquire horses. The Kamia of the San Diego region were in turn in direct communication with the Quechan. The travels of Fray Francisco Garcés in 1776 revealed also that the Halchidhoma route from Blythe to the Los Angeles Basin and the Mohave route from Needles to the Pacific Coast and the San Joaquin Valley were in continuous use.[18]

The Spaniards were anxious to maintain and safeguard the Yuma route, and for this reason the Quechan Indians were regaled and promised that they would receive gifts and missions. The latter were established in 1779 in a somewhat irregular manner and then were destroyed in 1781 when the Quechan rebelled. During this period the Spaniards made frequent use of the eastern portions of the Yuma route, but only on two or three occasions did they send parties from the Colorado to California. During 1781 and 1782 considerable use of the Yuma route was made by parties of Spanish soldiers who sought in vain to punish and subdue the Quechan. Finally in January, 1783, the Europeans decided to discontinue use of the route. In 1786 use of the Yuma route was forbidden as all available troops were needed to defend Sonora from the Apaches, Seris, and their allies.[19]

The Spaniards in California never gave up hopes of reopening the route to Sonora however, since the routes to Mexico by sea and via Baja California were slow and tedious. In 1783 José Velásquez apparently made several trips to the east of San Diego under orders from Governor Pedro Fages; however he does not seem to have reached the Colorado River. Two years later Fages and Velásquez together made an expedition into the Imperial Valley, but they also failed to reach the river out of fear of the Quechan. Under the governership of Diego de Borica (1794-1800) interest in the land route was revived, and several new expeditions were made. In 1795 Captain Juan Grijalva traveled to the area of Warner's Hot Spring east of San Diego, and in the same year Governor Borica began collecting all of the old Yuma route diaries which were available in California and Mexico. During the same period explorations were being carried out in the Sierra Juárez of Baja California with a view towards founding Santa Catalina Mission. This mission was in part conceived of as a way station to the Colorado River.

In October, 1796, José Joaquín Arrillaga proceeded from the site of Santa Catalina into the delta region of the Colorado River. He traveled northwards to the east of the Sierra Cocopa and then was forced by native hostility to go to San Diego without reaching the Colorado. In 1797 Arrillaga introduced a proposal designed to reopen the land route by placing presidios at various points. The plan was backed by Borica; but because of the lack of troops and funds and the known hostility of the Indians, nothing was done.[20]

Interest in the Yuma route did not cease after the turn of the century. In 1800 the Dominicans of Baja California called for the erection of a mission on the Colorado, and in April Viceroy José de Azanza mentioned that plans were being made to reopen the Yuma route. In July, 1802, Governor Arrillaga, of the Californias, wrote that he wished to take horses and mules to Sonora via the Colorado River. It is possible that in *ca.* 1801-2 a Spanish party did reach the latter stream, for in 1826 Lieutenant R. W. Hardy, of the British Navy, met Indians near the mouth of the Colorado who stated that twenty-five years before they had been visited by Spaniards from Upper California who wished to reëstablish missions.[21]

From the 1790's through the 1820's the Yuma route was still in use even though Spaniards were unable to travel upon it. The Quechan in particular were using both the eastern and western sections of the route. In 1793 a Quechan family was resident at Caborca, and three years later several Quechans were in the Tubac-Tamacacori region. In 1820 it appears that Quechans were still journeying to the Altar Valley to sell slaves to the Spaniards, and likewise there is indication that some of the latter were visiting the Quechan in order to facilitate the slave-trade.[22] In the early 1800's the Quechan were in communication with the San Diego area natives and apparently they were helping the latter in warfare against the Spanish. Preference was made to the *excursiones* and *amenazas* of the Quechan as far north as San Gabriel in 1801. Two years later when a group of Kamia at Santo Tomás Mission in Baja California rebelled, they fled to the Quechan on the Colorado River. In 1806 Luis Argüello was ordered to proceed from San Diego toward the Colorado River to look for runaway neophytes who were apparently fleeing to the river tribes. He was to avoid meeting the latter, however.

The Indians of the San Gabriel region were implicated in a rebellion against the Spanish in 1810-1811 that also involved Colorado River Indians. In January of the latter years Francisco María Ruiz of San Diego was ordered to the sierras to keep an eye on the Quechan and to prevent them from going to San Gabriel. In 1822 Ruiz reported that the San Gabriel Indians were commonly robbing horses and cattle and trading them to the Colorado River tribes. Not all relations with the latter were hostile, however, for in 1839 Antonio Coronel noted that

> formerly the Amajave, Cochanes and Yumas came time after time to Los Angeles to trade in deerskins . . . and in blankets which they wove by hand . . . these blankets and skins were very much appreciated by the rancheros who used them as part of their saddle gear. These Indians traded their skins and blankets for horses and mares.[23]

Thus it is clear that although Spaniards were not using the Yuma route in this period, the Quechan were actively trading with Sonora and raiding and trading in coastal California.

What might be termed the "modern" use of the Yuma route by non-Indians commenced with the activities of a Dominican friar from Baja California. In April, 1823, Father Félix Caballero apparently accompanied only by Indians set out from his mission of Santa Catalina to visit the natives of the Colorado (the latter were in constant communication with his neophytes). The *gentiles* received him with "much respect" and helped him to pass over to Sonora. Thence, by an unknown route and probably with new Indian guides, Caballero proceeded to Arispe in order to procure help in returning to his mission. Captain José Romero and eleven soldiers were ordered to join the Dominican and in July, 1823, they reached Santa Catalina after having lost most or all of their horses to hostile Colorado River Indians. Thus after forty-one years a Spanish-speaking party was able to once again use the Yuma route.[24]

Romero, in order to return to Sonora safely, asked for, and obtained, an escort of soldiers from California consisting of thirty regulars and ten militiamen under the command of Lieutenant José María Estudillo. The party decided to travel to Sonora by way of the Halchidhoma route (used regularly at this time by Halchidhoma and Maricopa Indians) in order to avoid the Quechan. As a guide Romero obtained a California Indian who had run away to Sonora in 1812 and then had been returned by the authorities in 1819. This guide said that he was familiar with the Halchidhoma route. On November 25 the group set out from San Bernardino and proceeded eastward through San Gorgonio Pass and the Coachella Valley. They were unable to reach the Colorado River, however, because the trail turned out to be for Indians on foot only. As a result Romero and his soldiers were forced to remain in California. During 1824 the authorities in Sonora kept up continual communication with Romero by means of Maricopa messengers who were also supposed to act as guides. The Chumash revolt in California prevented any departure that year, however.[25]

In 1824 the Indians of the San Diego-Colorado River region carried out a number of raids near the former place, and in July Santiago Argüello with twenty-four men was ordered to proceed towards the Colorado. Argüello's party was able to follow a trail of stolen horses to the river and the place where the raiders were trading with the Quechan. The Mexicans did not dare attack the Quechan, however, and the only thing accomplished was having learned the route to the river.[26] In July, 1825, the Mexicans of San Diego were forced to send out an expedition because of raiding by the Colorado River Indians, but again nothing of importance was accomplished other than reconnaissance.[27]

In 1824 José Figueroa became *comandante general* of Sonora, and one of the projects in which he interested himself was the development of the route to California. On October 15 Figueroa left Tucson with a "respectable" force and proceeded to the junction of the Gila and Colorado, arriving on November 11. He was able to secure friendly relations with the Quechan and on the seventeenth dispatched a messenger to Romero in California who had received prior word and was waiting at San Bernardino. On November 23 the Romero party left for the river. The group consisted of some thirty-four soldiers (including Romualdo Pacheco and five men who were to return to California) and some thirty California Indians as auxiliaries. The Colorado River (probably near Blythe) was reached on December 15 despite the fact that the Indian guides had run away on the fourth. On the nineteenth Romero's group crossed the river and apparently made their way over the Halchidhoma trail to Agua Caliente on the Gila River. In the meantime, Figueroa had been forced to return to Sonora because of the Yaqui revolt, but he had left an "official" at Agua Caliente.[28]

Pacheco was ordered to proceed south to the Quechans at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, to treat the natives as friends, and to erect quarters for troops in order to maintain the land route. Subsequently he was supposed to return to the coast via San Diego. In February, 1826, Governor José María Echeandía of California reported to the Mexican Minister of War that Pacheco had reached the Quechans and that the road by way of Yuma was superior to that farther north. Furthermore, Pacheco was erecting quarters for troops on the river. Thus Spanish-speaking people were once again attempting to establish an outpost among the Quechan; however, as a half-century before, their efforts were doomed to failure. Just exactly what transpired is not known, but one can surmise that anti-Mexican feelings among the natives of the area east of San Bernardino and San Diego were too strong to allow for a Mexican post on the river. Romero and Pacheco had had trouble with the Cahuilla and Halchidhoma in 1825 while the Kamia and Quechan were ordinarily hostile. Eventually this animosity was to result in the destruction of San Bernardino (1834), the decline of San Diego (1834-42), and the destruction of Santa Catalina and Guadalupe missions in Baja California (1839-40). It is not surprising then that Pacheco was apparently unable to establish a post among the Quechans.[29]

Many persons were interested in maintaining the Yuma route, including Figueroa. In March, 1826, he wrote that it would be necessary to gratify the Quechan much more than they deserved in order to keep the route open. During that same month a Mexican by the name of Vicente Gómez was sent from California to Sonora via the Yuma route; he was "menaced with death" by the Quechans.[30]

There is no evidence to indicate that a Mexican party used the land route after Gómez until 1828, unless he himself returned to the Californias via the Colorado. Meanwhile, in April, 1826, hostilities in the San Diego region were intensified, and battles were fought with the Cahuillas, eastern Kamias, and Colorado River Indians. In June, 1826, Romualdo Pacheco made a journey to the river via Santa Ysabel. The details of the *entrada* are not known.[31]

When Lieutenant R. W. H. Hardy, of the British Navy, entered the Colorado from the Gulf of California in July, 1826, he was told by the natives that the Mexicans had asked the caciques to allow a post on the river so as to facilitate communication between Sonora and California. In connection with use of the route by Indians Hardy met a neophyte from Santa Catalina Mission and a native from Caborca while on the river.[32]

By 1826 there were a number of Mexicans and Indians in both Sonora and California who were familiar with the Yuma route, but the former were unable at this time to use the route for trading purposes because of Indian hostility. In the meantime Anglo-American fur trappers and traders had been entering New Mexico and Utah-Colorado and making contacts with Mexicans and Indians who knew of the country to the southwest. On August 29, 1826, Governor Antonio Narbona, of New Mexico, issued a passport to a party of Anglo-Americans who were to go to Sonora for trading purposes. A few days later, however, Narbona wrote the governor of Sonora that the "traders" were really going to engage in an illegal hunting (trapping) expedition. During the same year a group of French-speaking trappers also made their way towards Sonora. The Anglo-American party of thirty-two men included George C. Yount, Peg-leg Smith, and Ewing Young, as well as some Mexicans who were perhaps enlisted as guides or interpreters. The French-speaking group was led by one of the Robideaux brothers. The two parties gradually worked their way down the Gila River, the latter group being in the lead. In October they were apparently near Tucson as the Mexican garrison in the latter place received reports of their presence and made a search for them. Subsequently the French party was attacked by the Pima and Maricopa with the loss of sixteen men. It seems quite possible that the Mexican commander of Tucson had asked the Indians to attack the trappers for under ordinary circumstances the Pimas and Maricopas were very friendly towards travelers.[33]

The remnants of the Robideaux party made their way to Tucson except for Sylvester Pattie, James Pattie, and Robideaux who joined the Yount group. After chastising the Pimas and Maricopas this group gradually made its way down the Gila to the Colorado where they traded with the Quechan. The latter stream was then ascended in March, 1827, as far as the Mohave villages. The party then split apart, some going northeastwards into Utah and others presumably going eastward to New Mexico.[34]

In 1827 two parties of great significance departed from New Mexico, bound for California. One party of thirty-five men led by Richard Campbell made its way from Santa Fe to San Diego by way of Zuñi. Whether they used the Yuma route is, however, not known. The second party, led by a Doctor Anderson, followed the Gila River on its way to California. Guides were obtained among the Maricopa or Pima for the portion of the route west of their villages. Subsequently Anderson returned to Santa Fe where he was living in 1846. Captain A. R. Johnston who came to California with the Kearny expedition in the latter year met Anderson and had access to his diary.[35]

Thus by 1827 a through route from New Mexico and northern Sonora to California had been opened up, not by Spaniards or Mexicans, but by Anglo-Americans, albeit with the use of Indian and probably Mexican guides. From this year onward it would appear that the Yuma route from at least Sonora to California was used each season; that, aside from those parties bound for California or Sonora, there were a number of trapping expeditions, such as that of Yount in 1827-28, which were content to merely trap upon the Gila and Colorado without going on to the coast.

Several members of the Yount group, including Nathaniel Pryor and the Patties, chose to trap along the lower Colorado and then journey in early 1828 to California rather than return to New Mexico. After considerable hardship they were able to obtain Indian guides who escorted them across the Sierra Juárez to the Mexican settlements in northern Baja California. Another member of the Yount group may have been Rafael Rivera who, in 1828, made his way from Sonora to the Mohave villages and then to New Mexico.

Between 1828 and 1834 a number of Anglo-American parties used portions of the Yuma route: in 1828 Pryor returned to the Colorado from San Diego to locate cached furs and then went back to the coast; in the fall of 1830 a group of trappers under Ewing Young traveled along the Colorado and up the Gila; in the fall of 1831 a group under David Jackson followed the Yuma route to Los Angeles, returning to New Mexico with horses and mules in mid-1832; in 1831-1832 Ewing Young led a trapping party along the Gila and Colorado, which party eventually reached Los Angeles; and in the winter of 1832-33 a small party, including Lemuel Carpenter and William Chard, made its way along the Gila to Los Angeles. Several trapping parties also operated along the Colorado in the period 1833-34, including those of Young, Fraeb-Gervais, and Old Bill Williams and Joe Meek.[36]

During the 1830's the use of the Yuma route by Mexican parties became more and more common, especially after 1833. Their right to the use of the trail was, however, always subject to the will of the Indians of the region, especially the Quechan. In February, 1830, a portion of the Armijo party which had come to California via Utah went from southern California to Sonora. By 1832 it is clear that a "road" existed from Los Angeles and San Diego to the latter province for an Englishman, Thomas Coulter, was able to follow it to the Colorado River in that year. The road went via Pala, Warner's Hot Springs, San Felipe, Carrizo, Agua Sola, and Yuma. From Yuma it was said to be a seven day's journey to Altar. In 1834 Silvestre de la Portilla petitioned for a grant to the Valle of San José (Warner's Hot Springs) which he said was on the road to the Colorado River.[37]

By the 1830's the routes from Sonora to California would appear to have been well-known by the Mexicans; yet a member of the Jackson party of 1831, John J. Warner, commented that they could not locate any guides in either Tucson or Altar who had been as far as the Colorado River. One suspects, however, that the Mexicans were simply not anxious for Anglo-Americans to use the route. It is clear that Mexicans were going to the Colorado in the period, for Old Bill Williams and Jesús Archuleta met a priest from Caborca, Father Faustino González, among the Halchidhoma in 1832-33. In 1834 a special courier of President López de Santa Anna, Rafael Amador, made a journey from Mexico City to California via the Colorado River. He crossed the river in September after having been forced to give up his equipment to the Indians in exchange for their helping him across.[38]

In 1834-35 the Sonora frontier moved towards the Colorado with mining discoveries in the Sonóitac-Caborca region. Thousands of Mexicans poured into the area, which was an excellent "jumping-off place" for California. It is probably not surprising then to find that in March, 1835, reference was made to a party of *Sonorenses* who were in Los Angeles. In *ca.* 1836 a Captain Tovar arrived in the San Diego region from Sonora as well. Thus it would appear that Sonorans began to use the Yuma route at least by the mid-1830's. Just how many came to California in the period 1835-45 is not clear. In 1839 two Sonorans, Juanito Alvarado and Andrés Fontes, were said to have been living in San Diego "for a long time." When gold was discovered in southern California in 1842 Sonoran "experts" in Los Angeles verified the find, and Bancroft states that the mines were worked to 1846 "chiefly by Sonorans." Some of the Sonorans came to trade slaves in California. In 1840 or early 1841 a Sonoran arrived in Los Angeles with young Indians whom he had acquired on his journey and these were sold.[39]

The Mexicans of California were also interested in utilizing the Yuma route for commercial purposes in the 1830's and 1840's. In 1833 the political chief of southern California, José María Echeandía, called for the establishment of "regular and secure communication with Sonora." In May of the same year a group of Californians were discussing the taking of two thousand horses and six hundred mules to that province. Two years later a rumor began in San Diego to the effect that a treasure existed in the ruins of the old Quechan missions. It began because several Indians from the Colorado came to San Diego and traded with Spanish coin of the 1770's. In 1836 some Anglo-Americans and Californians went to the river but apparently no hoard of coin was found. Several Mexican parties used the Yuma route at about the same time, one including Silvestre de la Portilla and the other including the wife of Cosme Peña who was running away from her husband. The Cocopa Indians killed her three companions, and she became an Indian's wife.[40]

Some efforts were made to gain political control over the Colorado River tribes in the late 1830's but they were rather futile. Father Félix Caballero is said to have traveled to Mexico in this period in an effort to obtain priests for missions on the Colorado, but none were forthcoming. In 1839 the Mexicans attempted to appoint alcaldes for the various Indian groups but the Colorado tribes refused to cooperate.[41]

In February of the latter year, Antonio Coronel led a party from California to Sonora via the Yuma route. The party included Luís Arenas, Matías Sabiclis (an Italian sailor), two French sailors, four servants, and a guide. From the Indian village of San Felipe (where the chief, one-eyed Captain José, joined them) the group made their way toward Yuma, meeting three hundred armed Quechans, Kamias, Kohuanas, and Mohaves en route. Coronel bribed the natives with twenty mares (he knew the chiefs from having met them on the latter's trading expeditions to the coast). Seven of the chiefs joined Coronel's party as they wished to go to Sonora and visit Manuel Gándara, the political chief of the latter province. This interesting group then proceeded to Sonora and returned via Sonóitac in 1840.[42]

Subsequent Mexican use of the Yuma route is known by inference only until 1846 when several parties traveled to Sonora just prior to the passage through Yuma of United States troops under General Stephen Watts Kearny. The fact that the Indian tribes (Quechans, Kamias, Cahuillas, Papagos, and others) who resided between San Diego and Caborca were independent and often at war with the Mexicans certainly inhibited the latter's use of this important avenue of communication. The Indians, however, were able to continue their use of the route for both trading and raiding purposes, as is evident from information cited above. On many occasions between 1833 and 1840 the Quechans entered the San Diego region to attack the Mexicans, but in addition they were trading in the Los Angeles area. Individual Indians are also known to have traveled along the Yuma route, as in 1837 when a native journeyed from Altar to San Diego, and in 1839 when a certain Paipa traveled from Sonora to the latter place.[43]

With the period 1846-1850 the Yuma route was to see a great change take place with the passage of several parties of United States troops and thousands of Mexican and Anglo-American gold seekers. A new era had begun. The old trails became highways, which were clearly marked by the debris deposited by hurrying forty-niners. Subsequently stage coaches, railroads, automobiles, and trucks were to follow a trail pioneered by Indians.

The history of the Yuma route illustrates the important role played by native groups in opening up major trails and then transferring knowedge of their use to European newcomers. It is to be suspected that many other famous trails in the United States had a similar history, and it is here suggested that the subject of the Indian as guide and explorer needs much more attention than it has heretofore received.

## NOTES

1. For a general survey of the better-known phases of the development of the route see Douglas D. Martin, *Yuma Crossing* (Albuquerque, 1954).

2. Fred B. Kniffen, "The Natural Landscape of the Colorado Delta," *University of California Publications in Geography*, V (1932), 191-205.

3. Jack D. Forbes, "Warriors of the Colorado," unpublished manuscript, pp. 9-13; Forbes, "Pueblo Indian Pottery in the San Fernando Valley," *The Masterkey*, XXXV (1961).

4. Charles Di Peso, *The Upper Pima of San Cayetano del Tumacacori* (Dragoon, Arizona, 1956), pp. 252, 562; Harold Colton, "Prehistoric Trade in the Southwest," *Scientific Monthly*, LII (1941), 315-19.

5. Malcolm J. Rogers, "Aboriginal Culture Relations Between Southern California and the Southwest," *San Diego Museum Bulletin*, V (1941), 2-3.

6. Report of Hernando de Alarcón in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque, 1940), pp. 134-48; Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* (New York, 1925), pp. 19, 23-5.

7. See Jack D. Forbes, "Melchior Díaz and the Discovery of Alta California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVII (1958).

8. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 88, 273.

9. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 273-9; George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1953), pp. 1018-24.

10. Juan Mateo Manje, "Breve Noticia," in *Materiales para la historia de Sonora*, MS, Biblioteca del Ministerio de Hacienda, 970, Madrid, Spain; Manje, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* (Mexico, 1926), pp. 260-90; Eusebio Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, ed. and tr. by Herbert E. Bolton (Cleveland, 1919).

11. Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, 242 *et. seq.*

12. Kino, *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, I, 317, 343, 353.

13. Juan Antonio Baltasar "De nuevos progresos . . . y estado presento de la Pimería Alta" in *Apostólicos Afanes* (Mexico, 1944), pp. 339-61; Jacobo Sedelmayr, "Relación," MS, Biblioteca del Ministerio de Hacienda, 969, Madrid; Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California* (Mexico, 1944), pp. 332-46; *also see* Peter M. Dunne, *Jacobo Sedelmayr* (Tucson, 1955).

14. In 1756 Spanish soldiers went as far as Sonóitac. Herbert E. Bolton, tr. and ed., *Anza's California Expedition* (Berkeley, 1930), V, 58.

15. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, V, 1.

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# McDougall of California

## By William Lawrence Shaw

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During the current centennial of the great American Civil War, 1861-1865, attention has been directed in California to James A. McDougall. Identified as one "who played a significant rôle"[1] in the stirring events of the war, McDougall represented the state of California in the United States Senate during the years 1861-1867. This writing will stress what are regarded as the major topics upon which James McDougall spoke before the Senate.

### The General Stone Controversy

"These things are not done in the interest of liberty and law."[2]

On October 21, 1861, there was killed in action at the Battle of Ball's Bluff, Colonel Edward D. Baker who was a regimental commander of certain Union troops engaged with more numerous Confederate forces under the command of General N. G. Evans. Mr. Baker had practiced law in San Francisco during the 1850's and had been associated with James McDougall in the legal defense of Charles Cora in a murder prosecution linked to the death of United States Marshal William H. Richardson.[3] Baker moved to Oregon and was elected United States Senator from that state in 1859. After the beginning of hostilities in April of 1861, Colonel Baker at the age of fifty-three years raised what was at first termed the "First California Regiment" which later became known as the Seventy-first Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment. The organization included in its ranks several hundred former residents of California who were recruited in Philadelphia, New York City, and other areas. While the regiment was in training, after first Manassas in July of 1861, Colonel Baker, a close friend of Abraham Lincoln, con-

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tinued to occupy his seat in the United States Senate until the autumn of 1861.

The assault, led by Colonel Baker on October 21, was repulsed by the entrenched Confederates at Ball's Bluff with great loss sustained by the Union elements. The superior officer above Colonel Baker during the time of the engagement was Brigadier General Charles P. Stone. This officer, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point, had resigned his commission in the Regular Army in 1855 and had resided in California where he engaged in business. In 1860 Stone was recalled to the Army by General Winfield Scott, and, eventually, his division command included the regiment of Colonel Baker.

The matter did not end with the death of Colonel Baker. The engagement at Ball's Bluff aroused considerable publicity throughout the nation because of the excessive Union losses and the ineptness of the attack upon the Confederates who were entrenched on steep hill slopes opposite Harrison's Island in the Potomac River. In seeking to advance towards the foe, the Union men had to ford the river before proceeding up the hillsides to the Confederate ramparts. Odium attached to the name of General Stone who rightly or wrongly was a target for criticism for the Union defeat.[4] General Stone was arrested secretly and placed in close confinement.

On March 24, 1862, a letter of protest against the arrest of General Stone was directed to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton by United States Senators J. A. McDougall (D) and Milton S. Latham (D), and Congressman A. A. Sargent (R), all of California. The letter stated:

> The long arrest of General Stone without military inquiry or trial which it was at one time understood would be promptly had has led to complaints from many quarters. General Stone being recognized as a citizen of the State of California many of these complaints have been addressed to us in the form of inquiries as well as requests. The inquiries we have of course been altogether unable to answer further than that we understood that by the Articles of War he was entitled to a trial by a day certain. That day having passed we could only say ignoramus. Under all the circumstances and having known General Stone for years and never having had cause to doubt his loyalty we feel it our duty to inquire of the Government through you for some explanation of a proceeding which seems to us most extraordinary.

> General Stone was and is a military officer of the United States, and as such we understand him to have been and to be subject to military law. We at the same time understand him to be entitled to all the rights conferred by the same law. We do not intend to question the power of the Government in this proceeding, but we desire most respectfully to be informed why the rights secured, as we understand, by military law as to the time of trial are denied to General Stone. We present no complaint, but we would like the assurance that we have no cause of complaint.[5]

No reply to the letter was received from the Secretary of War or any others.

On April 11, 1862, Senator James A. McDougall of California caused to be introduced Senate Resolution No. 26, which called for information concerning the arrest and confinement of General Stone. The Secretary of War was requested to inform the Senate on the following points:

1. From whom the order for General Stone's arrest proceeded.
2. Whether at the time of the arrest, General Stone was subject to the Articles of War: did the arrest constitute a violation of those articles: upon whose complaint was the officer arrested: What was the specific nature of the charges?
3. What steps were being taken by any Judge Advocate toward the preparation of charges, if such had not yet in fact resulted?
4. Had counsel been allowed at any time to General Stone: had he not asked for an immediate trial?
5. Whether General Stone was even aware of the nature of the charges against him.
6. Were applicable Articles of War being followed in the instance of General Stone as an accused?
7. If the officer was not arrested for alleged violation of Articles of War, upon what pretense was he kept in close custody?[6]

The resolution was ordered printed. On April 15, 1862, Senator McDougall addressed the Senate and pointed out that it was then fifty days since General Stone, commanding a division of the Army of the Potomac, was seized at midnight, taken from his home, placed in a fortress on the coast, and allowed no communication with anyone. The Senator inquired from whom the *lettre de cachet* issued and whether it involved the President or the Secretary of War? Speaking of General Stone's residence in California, the Senator declared: "I learned there to know him well, and I speak only of what I do know when I say, that never since that State was founded has there a man come into and gone out of it with higher consideration on the part of all those who knew him."[7]

Extensive discussion resulted in the Senate, and it developed that there had been ignored the Seventy-ninth Article of War[8] which provided that no officer or soldier under arrest should remain in confinement more than *eight days* or until a court-martial could be assembled. Further, the Eighty-second Article of War[9] required that within twenty-four hours of the commitment of a prisoner, a report in writing should be made to the commanding officer of the place of confinement setting forth the name of the person in detention and his alleged crimes. It was obvious that neither the Seventy-ninth Article nor the Eighty-second Article had been followed in the instance of General Stone.

A partisan issue was made of the matter, and Senator Benjamin F. Wade (R), of Ohio, deplored that any attention was given to the ill-fate of the General![10] On April 15, 1862, Senator Henry Wilson (R), of Massachusetts, offered an amendment of Senate Resolution No. 26 to reword the resolution and to substitute the following language:

> That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Senate any information touching the arrest and imprisonment of Brigadier General Stone, not deemed incompatible with the public interest.[11]

Senator McDougall finally obtained a vote on the amended resolution which was adopted on April 21, 1862.[12]

The California Senator had won his point in the face of spirited opposition. On May 2, 1862, President Lincoln responded to the Senate request for information on General Stone as follows:

> ... He was arrested and imprisoned under my general authority, and upon evidence which, whether he be guilty or innocent, required, as appears to me, such proceedings to be had against him for the public safety. I deem it incompatible with the public interest, as also, perhaps, unjust to General Stone, to make a more particular statement of the evidence.
>
> He has not been tried because, in the state of military operations at the time of his arrest and since, the officers to constitute a court-martial and for witnesses could not be withdrawn from duty without serious injury to the service. He will be allowed a trial without any unnecessary delay; the charges and specifications will be furnished him in due season, and every facility for his defence will be afforded him by the War Department.[13]

On about the sixty-seventh day of the arrest and confinement of

General Stone without charges, the efforts of Senator McDougall induced the President to enter into a partial explanation of what is now regarded as a flagrant abuse of military rights and privileges. Eventually, *General Stone was released in August, 1862,* and was restored to his command, but his prospects were ruined and promotion did not come to him.[14] Later commentators, after the wartime tensions had ceased, agree that General Stone was free from blame for the Union defeat at Ball's Bluff and that the chief responsibility for the defeat in which he lost his life rested on the shoulders of Colonel Baker.[15] The persistent efforts of Senator McDougall in behalf of General Stone may have led to a restraint upon a trend to wholesale arrests not only of Confederate sympathizers,[16] but of Union men who chanced to fall into the ill graces of the administration. In another instance former Congressman Charles A. Faulkner, of Virginia, being under arrest, appealed to Senator McDougall.[17] Mr. Faulkner, a former Minister of the United States to France, was taken into custody at Washington on August 12, 1861, on orders of the War Department and was placed in Fort Warren. Eventually, Mr. Faulkner was exchanged as a hostage for the Honorable Alfred Ely, Congressman of New York, who was held by the Confederates.[18]

## The Intervention of Napoleon III in Mexico

Senator McDougall was one of the first statesmen to direct attention to the course of French invasion of the Republic of Mexico. The Senator was greatly incensed by the invasion of Mexico which began in December, 1861.[19] A combined French-Spanish-British landing at Vera Cruz led to an intervention extending from January to mid-April, 1862, when the British and Spanish elements withdrew, and the Imperial French forces began an offensive against Mexican Republican troops under the authority of President Benito Juárez.[20]

On January 19, 1863, Senator McDougall introduced a resolution challenging French interference in Mexico. The resolution stated:

> Resolved . . . That the present attempt by the Government of France to subject the Republic of Mexico to her authority by armed force is a violation of the established and known rules of international law, and that it is, moreover, a violation of the faith of France, pledged by the treaty made at London on the 31st day of October, 1861, between the allied Governments of Spain, France, and England, communicated to this Government over the signatures of the repre-

sentatives of the allies by letter of the 30th day of November, 1861, and particularly and repeatedly assured in this Government through its ministers resident at the Court of France.

Resolved further, That the attempt to subject the Republic of Mexico to French authority is an act not merely unfriendly to this Republic, but to free institutions everywhere, and that it is regarded by this Republic as not only unfriendly, but as hostile.

Resolved further, That it is the duty of this Republic to require of the Government of France that her armed forces be withdrawn from the territories of Mexico.

Resolved further, That it is the duty and proper office of this Republic now, and at all times, to lend such aid to the Republic of Mexico as is or may be required to prevent the forcible interposition of any of the States of Europe in the political affairs of that Republic.

Resolved further, That the President of the United States be requested to cause to be communicated to the Government of Mexico the views now expressed by the two Houses of Congress, and be further requested to cause to be negotiated such treaty or treaties between the two Republics as will best tend to make these views effective.[21]

The resolution was considered on February 3, 1863, by a vote 29 to 16, over objection by Senator Charles Sumner (R), of Massachusetts, who urged caution and who feared that war might result with France "bound to us by treaties and manifold traditions." Senator Sumner went on: "Have we not war enough already on our hands. . . . I am for the suppression of the rebellion above and before everything else."[22]

On February 4, 1863, the McDougall resolution was laid on the table on motion of Senator Sumner by a vote of 34 to 10.[23] Senator Latham of California voted "nay" in support of Senator McDougall.

The resolution served to focus nation-wide attention upon the invasion of Mexico and the concern of the Pacific States with the issue. The resolution in fact came to the attention of Napoleon III.[24]

## The Trans-Continental Railroad

The Civil War spurred activity looking towards the completion of a transcontinental railroad linking the east and the west. The project was assisted to a successful conclusion through the efforts of Senator McDougall who was chairman of a Special Senate Pacific Railroad Committee. Congressman Sargent of California was a member of the House Pacific Railroad Committee. Each of the two legislators worked in his respective chamber to gain adoption of a railroad bill. They were assisted by Theodore Judah, chief engineer of the California Central Pacific Railroad Company.

Preliminarily, Congress had provided for a daily overland mail service to the Pacific Coast.[25] An enactment of June 16, 1860, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to initiate a telegraph line from San Francisco to Western Missouri.[26]

On April 4, 1862, Chairman McDougall of the Senate Committee brought in a favorable committee report on the Pacific Railroad.[27] The measure was enacted into law July 1, 1862.[28]

The bill contemplated that the Union Pacific Railroad Company should build westward from the Missouri River and that the Central Pacific Railroad Company, a California corporation, should move eastward from the Sacramento River. The project was completed by the joinder of the two railroad lines on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah. In the language of the San Francisco press: "From today we may date a new era in the affairs of California. The great work is finished."[29]

More than any other legislator, Senator McDougall provided the guiding force which achieved the enactment into law of the Senate Bill which he championed and which gained Congressional approval of the Transcontinental Railroad. In fact, the Senator did not live to see the completion of the line in 1869, as he died at the age of fifty years in Albany, New York, on September 30, 1867.[30] Senator McDougall's term of office in the Senate had expired March 4, 1867.[31]

## The French Evacuation of Mexico

Between the Spring of 1863, when Senator McDougall was urging before Congress the significance of the Mexican invasion, and the end of the year, there had occurred several events bringing to a focus the whole subject of Mexico. The capital, Mexico City, was occupied by the Imperial forces of General Élie Forey on June 10, 1863.[32] The Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria emerged as the candidate of Napoleon III and of Empress Eugénie for a throne in Mexico.[33] The Union victory at Gettysburg in July, 1863, marked the turn of the tide and foretold eventual reunification of the United States and the cessation of the American Civil War.

Secretary of State William H. Seward had declared to the United

States ministers at Paris and London that *this nation was committed to a policy of neutrality* in the war between Imperial France and Mexico. This factor was stressed in a letter of Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, the Minister at London, on September 5, 1863;[34] in a letter by Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton, Minister to France, on September 21, 1863;[35] and by a letter on October 23, 1863, to Mr. Dayton.[36] In this last communication, Secretary Seward stated: "Happily the French government has not been left uninformed that, in the opinion of the United States, the permanent establishment of a foreign and monarchical government in Mexico will be found neither easy nor desirable. You will inform Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys[37] that this opinion remains unchanged."

Although Seward was extremely circumspect in his statements and spoke in terms of "neutrality," he threw off his official reserve in an avowal to Herr von Geralt, the Prussian Minister at Washington. Mr. Seward declared: "The setting up of a monarchy in the Republic of Mexico must have grave consequences and would sooner or later, undoubtedly bring the powers concerned in it into serious conflict with the United States."[38]

President Lincoln did not mention Mexico in his annual message to Congress in December, 1863. On January 11, 1864, Senator McDougall introduced Senate Resolution No. 13 relating to Mexico. The measure was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The resolution read:

> RESOLVED, That the occupation of a portion of the territory of the Republic of Mexico by the armed forces of the government of France, with the purposes avowed by the government of France, is an act unfriendly to the Republic of the United States of America.
>
> Sec. 2. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That it is the duty of the proper department of this Government to demand of the government of France the withdrawal of her armed forces from the Mexican territory within a reasonable time.
>
> Sec. 3. AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That in the event the government of France shall decline or refuse to so withdraw her armed forces, or shall fail to take measures to that effect, on or before the fifteenth day of March next, then it will become the duty of the Congress of the United States of America to declare war against the government of France.[39]

The above resolution was never reported back by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

On March 15, 1864, the California Senator did gain approval of the following resolution which was considered by unanimous vote and agreed to by the Senate:

> Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate to the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interest, any correspondence or other information in possession of the Government, relating to any plan or plans now projected or being projected with a view to the establishment of monarchical Governments in Central and South America.[40]

Senator McDougall was relentless in his efforts to induce the administration to take some affirmative action as to Mexico. On March 22, 1864, he introduced another resolution in relation to the occupation of Mexico by France. The measure was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations.[41]

In the House of Representatives, Congressman Henry W. Davis (R), Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, reported on April 4, 1864, a resolution adopted by the House unanimously on the same day by a vote 109 to 0. The resolution read:

> Resolved, That the Congress of the United States are unwilling by silence to leave the nations of the world under the impression that they are indifferent spectators of the deplorable events now transpiring in the republic of Mexico; and that they therefore think fit to declare that it does not accord with the policy of the United States to acknowledge any monarchical government, erected on the ruins of any republican government in America, under the auspices of any European power.[42]

After the adoption of this strongly worded resolution, Mr. Samuel S. Cox, of Ohio, the Democratic Party leader in the House, declared that he believed that the resolution should have been even more emphatic in its wording. The Congressman characterized Archduke Maximilian as the *Arch Dupe* of Louis Napoleon. He concluded: "We ought to be prepared not only to say, but to make it effectual that no crown shall be established on this continent."[43]

Although officially reticent, Secretary Seward recognized that his hand had been strengthened by the Congressional resolutions. The Secretary on April 7, 1864, sent a copy of the Davis resolution to Mr. Dayton at Paris and noted: "The resolution truly interprets the unanimous sentiment of the People."[44]

On April 27, 1864, Senator McDougall by resolution sought to instruct the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to report out to the Senate, the Davis resolution which had come over from the House.[45] Objection was interposed by Senator Sumner. On May 24, 1862, Senator McDougall moved that the Committee on Foreign Relations be discharged from any further consideration of the joint (Davis) resolution relating to Mexico.[46]

In the House, Mr. Davis on May 23, 1864, introduced a resolution[47] calling on the President to communicate to the House correspondence between the United States and France which had led to an announcement in the *Moniteur,* the official journal of the French Imperial government, as follows: "It is known, besides, that the Senate [United States] had indefinitely postponed the examination of that question [the Davis resolution] to which in any case the executive power would not have given its sanction."

Pointed exception was taken in the Davis resolution of May 23 to the above quoted conclusion set forth in the *Moniteur* which asserted an Executive divergence of opinion from the resolution adopted unanimously on April 4, 1864. The second Davis resolution protesting the *Moniteur* statement was adopted by the House on May 23, 1864.[48]

This last resolution achieved its purpose. On May 25, 1864, President Lincoln responded by transmitting to the House vital portions of Mr. Seward's correspondence in April and May, 1864, with the French Foreign Minister.[49]

This afforded an opportunity to Senator McDougall. On June 14, 1864, the Senator offered a resolution[50] which almost instantly gained nation-wide attention. The resolution set forth verbatim a portion of the Republican National Party Platform[51] of 1864 which had been adopted at a national convention meeting in Baltimore where Abraham Lincoln was renominated. The McDougall Resolution, worded exactly like the platform statement, read:

> RESOLVED, That the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any foreign Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any republican Government on the western continent, and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such Power to obtain any footholds for monarchical Governments sustained by foreign military force in proximity to the United States.[52]

Senator John Conness (D), of California, objected to the receipt of the resolution.[53] On June 22, 1864, Senator McDougall again offered the same resolution being a verbatim extract from the party platform anent Mexico.[54] Senator Sumner objected at this time to the receipt of the resolution which required unanimous consent in order that the resolution might be called on short notice.

On July 2, 1864, on the eve of adjournment, Senator McDougall without success sought to obtain a vote on the resolution first introduced on June 14.[55] Again, the Senate was treated to the sorry spectacle of Senator Conness thwarting the efforts of his colleague to bring to a vote a resolution, the subject matter of which probably had the overwhelming support of sentiment upon the Pacific Coast. After considerable discussion, McDougall's effort to take up the subject matter of the resolution was defeated on July 2, 1864, by a vote of 11 to 27.[56]

Although parliamentary maneuvering precluded the adoption of McDougall's various resolutions, he had *given the subject of Mexico a national prominence* which strengthened the policy of the Secretary of State. Seward utilized the Congressional inquiries including those of Senator McDougall in order to assist the State Department diplomatic discussions abroad.[57]

The tone of Seward's dispatches became gradually more severe towards Napoleon III after hostilities ceased in April, 1865, in the Civil War. No longer did the Secretary speak in terms of "neutrality." In a letter October 6, 1865, to Mr. Seward from John Bigelow, the American Minister at Paris, Mr. Bigelow reported that M. Drouyn de Lhuys had characterized the French forces in Mexico as those of a "police" and that the military units were in fact only a *gendarmerie!*[58]

Beginning from the time of the induction of Andrew Johnson as President of the United States upon the death of Abraham Lincoln in April, 1865, we may note a stiffening of the resistance through diplomatic channels by the United States to the French incursion into Mexico.

President Andrew Johnson expressed the national sentiment, which was adverse to Napoleon III, in the Annual Message on December 4, 1865.[59] The President stated that the past history of the United States disclosed a consistent resistance to the imposition of a European dynasty upon a sister American republic.

A great mass meeting took place in San Francisco on June 1, 1865, to voice approval of the cause of Mexican independence.[60] A large-scale meeting of sympathizers with Mexico was staged in Sacramento on June 11, 1865. General George W. Wright presided. Greetings were read from Señor José A. Godoy, Mexican consul at San Francisco.[61]

On March 2, 1866, M. Rouher, Minister of State, informed the Corps Législatif that the Imperial French troops were to be withdrawn from Mexico.[62] Undoubtedly, a vital factor in the influence of French Imperial policy was the persistent effort of Senator McDougall to keep bringing before the United States Senate the subject of French involvement in Mexico since 1861. Shortly after the declaration by M. Rouher, Congressman Robert T. Van Horn, of Missouri, by resolution in the House called on the French, pending withdrawal from Mexico, to desist from any further acts of conquest and to maintain the status quo in Mexico.[63]

In June, 1866, debate occurred in the United States Senate on a motion to appropriate funds for participation by this nation in the Paris Exposition of 1867. An amendment was offered by Senator James W. Grimes, of Iowa, making the appointment of any officer or the payment of any funds conditional on a guarantee by the Imperial Government that French troops would be "immediately withdrawn" from Mexico.[64] Senator Conness of California opposed the Grimes amendment. Senator McDougall spoke at length in favor of the amendment, reviewing United States policy in Mexico inimical to Napoleon III and concluding: "The policy of Louis Napoleon has been one of extreme hostility to the Republic of the United States."[65]

Senator Conness kept offering repeated motions to adjourn proceedings on June 14, 1866, when the Grimes amendment was being considered. The adjournment tactics failed.[66] Eventually, in order to permit United States involvement in the Paris Exposition, Senator Grimes withdrew his amendment.

## Miscellaneous Legislative Action

Senator McDougall during his term of office from March, 1861, to March, 1867, spoke eloquently and convincingly on many of the vital topics of that period. Among other subjects, he was heard on emancipation, the conduct of the war, the death of Senator Baker, the expulsion of Senators Bright and Johnson, army pay, naval appropriations, slavery in the District of Columbia, a steamship line to China, polygamy, territorial status for Arizona, the tariff, reconstruction, war claims, and currency. Almost single-handed, in March-April, 1862, McDougall gained the defeat of Senate Bill 151 which was intended to launch a national system of ruthless confiscation of the property of Confederates. He predicted that if the measure should be enacted, reunion would never be accomplished in the United States.[67]

McDougall furthered the adoption of the Enrollment Act of March 3, 1863.[68] The Senator stressed that military conscription should have been adopted when the war began as voluntary recruitment had proved to be a failure. He saw in the central federal government, authority to command military service from all men.[69]

On January 13, 1864, Senator McDougall presented to the Senate, a resolution of the legislature of California in favor of the reduction of the tax on domestic wines which was a vital concern to the State.[70] The resolution was referred to the Committee on Finance. This is an interesting indirect development of the war in Mexico and the American Civil War. The French wine industry were severely retarded by the Civil War and the resulting blockade upon French wines.[71] Similarly, the European brandy industry was hurt by the Civil War and the Mexican conflict.[72]

## CONCLUSION

Public recognition has been slow in coming to Senator McDougall because his untimely death in 1867 prevented his return to the State of California. Undoubtedly, if the Senator had returned to California, we should have had the benefit of additional public career, memoirs, and the other indicia of activity which a public leader may leave to posterity. The legislative intent in ACR 42 is sound in directing the California Civil War Centennial Commission to ascertain and stress the outstanding accomplishments of Senator McDougall in the United States Senate. Particularly, may we be proud that the Senator possessed the courage to take a stand as advocate for General Stone when the general was the target of censure because of the untimely death of Colonel Baker. Subsequently, Senator McDougall for several years insistently raised his voice in the Senate in behalf of the Republic of Mexico crushed under the heel of a European conqueror. Many leaders have given lip service to the Monroe Doctrine. Senator McDougall strove to make the doctrine a living actuality in behalf of subjugated Mexico.[73]

## NOTES

1. Assembly Concurrent Resolution 42, Cal. Stats (1963), chap. 60 (hereinafter cited as ACR 42).

The California legislature by a resolution adopted without a dissenting vote, effective April 8, 1963, has instructed the California Civil War Centennial Commission to undertake research concerning the record of the achievements of Senator McDougall.

2. Senator McDougall before the United States Senate, April 15, 1862, in condemnation of the unlawful confinement of General Stone. See *Congressional Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1666.

3. Zoeth S. Eldredge, *History of California* (New York, 1914), IV, 67.

4. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, Vol. V, pp. 34, 307, 314 (hereinafter cited as *OR).*

5. *OR,* Ser. II, Vol. III, pp. 401-402.

McDougall in the Senate had delivered a eulogy in honor of Senator Baker on December 11, 1861, at memorial exercises attended by President Lincoln. See *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 1, pp. 50-52.

6. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1624.

7. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, pp. 1662-1663.

8. S. V. Benet, *Treatise on Military Law* (New York, 1868), p. 408.

9. Benet, *Treatise on Military Law,* p. 408.

10. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1668.

11. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1668.

12. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1742.

13. Edward McPherson, *Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion* (New York, 1864), p. 180.

14. In 1870 Colonel Stone entered the service of the Khedive of Egypt and rose from Chief of Staff to Ferik-Pasha, 1873-83. Returning to the United States, Stone became an engineer in charge of building the foundation of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. See *Encyclopedia Americana,* XX (1962), p. 675.

15. Oscar Lewis, *War in the Far West, 1861-1865* (New York, 1961), p. 57. For an account favorable to Colonel Baker, consult John D. Baltz, *Hon. Edward D. Baker* (Lancaster, Penna., 1888).

16. McPherson, *Political History of the United States,* pp. 152-153.

17. *OR,* Ser. II, Vol. II, pp. 467-468.

18. *OR,* Ser. II, Vol. II, p. 463.

19. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1888), VI, 29.

20. *British and Foreign State Papers, 1862-1863* (London, 1869), LIII, 579. Percy Alvin Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico: The Story of the French Intervention, 1861-1867* (New York, 1914), pp. 91-92.

21. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 39 sess., Part 1, p. 371.

22. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 39 sess., Part 1, p. 694.

23. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 39 sess., Part 1, p. 704.

24. James M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York, 1932), p. 290.

25. 12 Stat. 169, 206, Sec. 9, Act of March 2, 1861.

26. 12 Stat. 41-42.

27. *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, p. 1538.

28. 13 Stat. 489; *Cong. Globe*, 37th Cong., 2d sess., Part 2, pp. 1971, 1983, 2840.

29. San Francisco *Bulletin*, May 8, 1869.

30. William Lawrence Shaw, "United States Senator James A. McDougall," *Pacific Historian*, VI (November, 1962), 186.

31. Shaw, "United States Senator James A. McDougall," *Pacific Historian*, VI, p. 186.

32. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, VI, 74.

33. Consult William Lawrence Shaw, "The Impact of Napoleon III Upon the Pacific Coast," *Pacific Historian*, VII (February and May, 1963); William Lawrence Shaw, "The Empress Eugénie and the War in Mexico, 1861-1867," *Pacific Historian*, VIII (February and May, 1964).

34. George E. Baker, *Works of William H. Seward* (Boston, 1884), pp. 389-399.

35. Baker, *Works of William H. Seward*, pp. 399-400.

36. Baker, *Works of William H. Seward*, pp. 410-411.

37. French Minister of Foreign Affairs from October 15, 1862, replacing M. Thouvenal who had functioned from January 4, 1860. The name was usually written as Drouyn de Lhuys.

38. Herr von Geralt to Count Bernstoff, Berlin, March 5, 1862, in Count Egon Corti, *Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico* (New York, 1923), I, 157.

39. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 1, p. 145.

40. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, p. 1108.

41. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, p. 1227.

42. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, p. 1408.

43. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, p. 1408.

44. "The Mexican Question," *North American Review*, CIII (July, 1866), 139-140.

45. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, p. 1900.

46. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 3, p. 2436.

47. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 3, p. 2427.

48. *Cong. Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 3, p. 2427.

49. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 3, p. 2475.

50. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 2931.

51. John G. Nicholay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), VII, 42.

52. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 2931.

53. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 2931.

54. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3157.

55. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3496; see Note No. 50 above.

56. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3496.

57. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations,* pp. 318-319; Dexter Perkins, *Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 497.

58. John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909), III, 195.

59. James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1900), VI, 368.

60. *Cong. Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part I (Mexican Affairs), p. 621, containing an extract from San Francisco *Daily American Flag,* June 2, 1865.

61. Sacramento *Bee,* June 12, 1865; Sacramento *Union,* June 12, 1865.

62. *Cong. Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part I (Mexican Affairs), p. 560.

63. *Cong. Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part 2, pp. 1067-1068.

64. *Cong. Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3138.

65. Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3159.

66. *Cong. Globe,* 39th Cong., 1st sess., Part 4, p. 3161.

67. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong., 2nd sess., Part 2, pp. 1021, 1040, 1049, 1544, 1881-1882, 3275.

68. 12 Stat. 731, Senate Bill No. 511, commonly called the Draft Act.

69. *Cong. Globe,* 37th Cong.. 3d sess., Part 2, pp. 1363-1366, 989-990, 997-999, 1002. Consult William Lawrence Shaw, "The Civil War Federal Conscription and Exemption System," *Judge Advocate Journal,* 32 (February, 1962).

70. *Cong. Globe,* 38th Cong., 1st sess., Part 1, p. 197.

71. Lynn M. Case, *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867* (New York, 1936), *passim.*

72. Case, *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, passim.*

73. In ACR 32, Cal. Stats. (1963), chap. 36, the California legislature, effective March 6, 1963, has directed the California Civil War Centennial Commission to commemorate the restoration of constitutional government in the Republic of Mexico consequent upon the withdrawal of Imperial Forces of Napoleon III and the overthrow of the regime of Archduke Maximilian.

# Francis Drake and Nova Albion

### *By* Captain Adolph S. Oko

The subject of Drake's California landing in 1579 has taken on greater historical significance within the past century. Many facts not known to Drake scholars of earlier years have been supplied by definitive research carried forward in California, Great Britain, Spain, Mexico, and other parts of Europe and the Americas. In spite of this, however, some of the information that has found its way into print has appeared confusing to the general public. A critical analysis is timely.

To intelligently evaluate Francis Drake's bold circumnavigation of the then little known world and to assess the importance of a specific event of that voyage, it is necessary to place oneself back into the sixteenth century aboard a vessel known as the *Golden Hind* (ex-*Pelican*). The ship is about eighty feet in length between stem and sternpost. It is propelled solely by sail. It is manned by more than sixty men. It is victualed with salt meat, sea biscuit, and other foods that will keep for a reasonable period. Water is carried in casks and penuriously rationed. The political climate at the time of the voyage involves a "cold war" between England and Spain with a strong doctrinal bias on both sides. Furthermore, economic pressure and an awakening to England's needs for navigation and geographic exploration, to permit expansion through trade and colonization, spurred great efforts.[1]

Note this sixteenth century admonition relating to one of Drake's important discoveries during the voyage of circumnavigation:

> . . . there is one large and maine sea, wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor belieue the report of our experience and eysight, hee should be aduised to suspend his

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Captain Adolph S. Oko, whose sudden death last September ended a dynamic career of community service on both land and sea, devoted the past fifteen years largely to furthering research on the subject of Francis Drake. As a moving force in the founding of the Drake Navigators Guild, in 1951, his own findings have been consolidated with those of other Guild members in the teamwork that has won international recognition.

judgement, till he haue either tried it himselfe by his owne trauell, or shall vnderstand, by other trauellers, more particulars to confirme his minde herein.[2]

Mark also these words which describe the completion of the voyage:

> . . . we safely with ioyfull minds and thankfull hearts to God, arrived at *Plimoth*, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent 2 yeares 10 moneths and some few odde daies beside, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discouering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange aduentures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcomming so many difficulties in this our encompassing of this neather globe, and passing round about the world, which we haue related.[3]

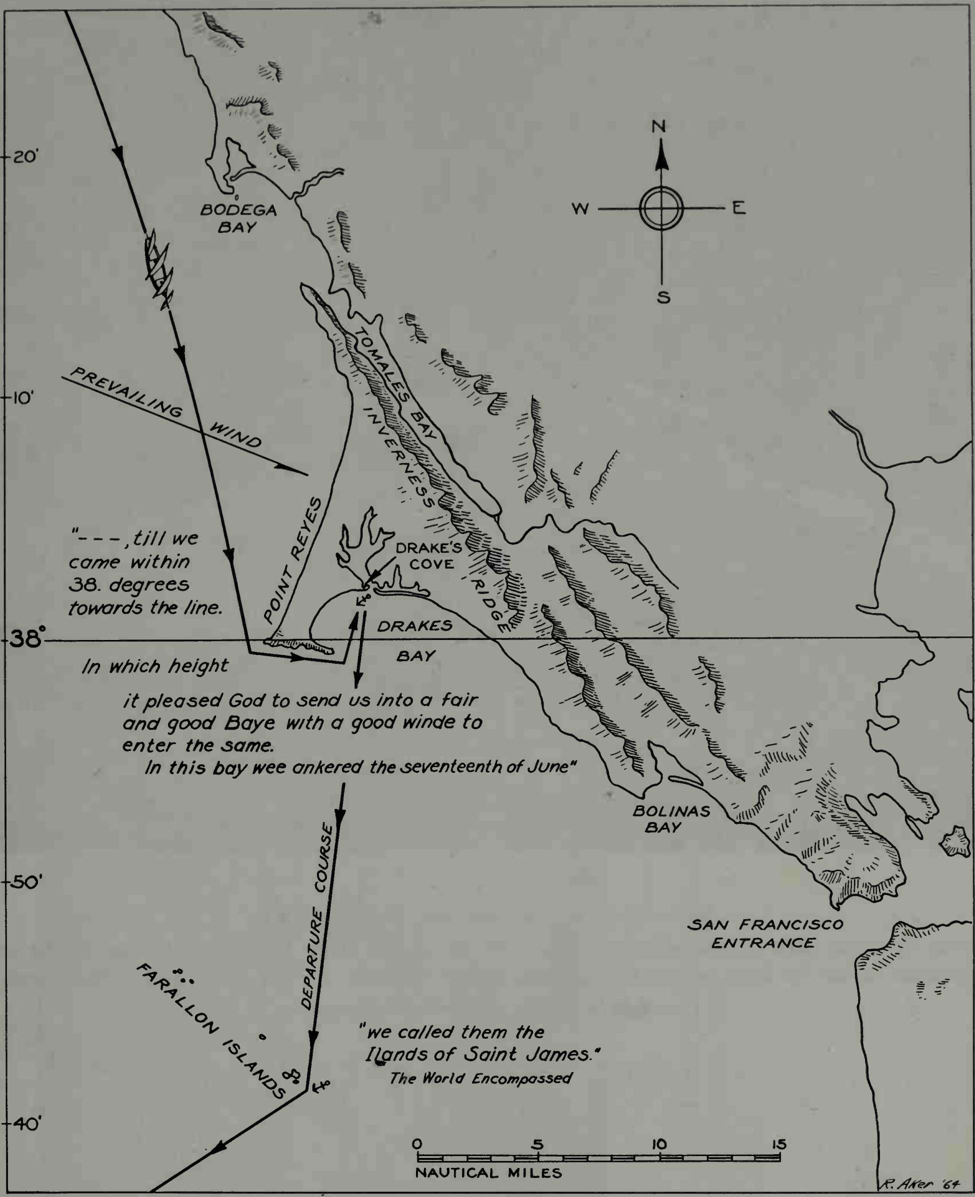
Sixteenth century ship construction, sea and port procedures, cartography, the limitations of navigational instruments and knowledge at the time of the voyage, and the existing documentary sources relative to this and other sixteenth century voyages—all must be studied and understood to capably assess all or any part of Drake's great voyage. If the circumnavigation is not understood in its entirety, the researcher is guilty of failing to comprehend the subject.

A seaman's position at sea or in making a landfall must, of necessity, be absolute. When a navigator charts his position, he has used every scientific and visual means available for ascertaining it. In making a landfall, a seaman records direct and deliberate statements of visual and physical facts. This basic seamanlike approach has not changed throughout the centuries.

The description of Drakes Bay in the 1942 edition of the *United States Coast Pilot* reads:

> Drakes Bay affords shelter in northwesterly weather in 5 to 6 fathoms, sandy bottom. From the western headland, which is the eastern termination of the ridge forming Point Reyes, *high white cliffs* extend northward and eastward in a gentle curve for 6 miles, terminating in high white sand dunes. Several lagoons on the northern shore empty through *a common channel which is navigable by light-draft vessels* with local knowledge.[4]

Compare this with a sixteenth century English report: "This our Generall named *Albion*, and that for two causes: one in respect of the *white bancks and cliffes*, which lie toward the sea; the other, that it might haue some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometime so called."[5] The "first recorded mention of Albion [England]" is attributed by Ivar Lissner to the report of a Greek sailor's


N
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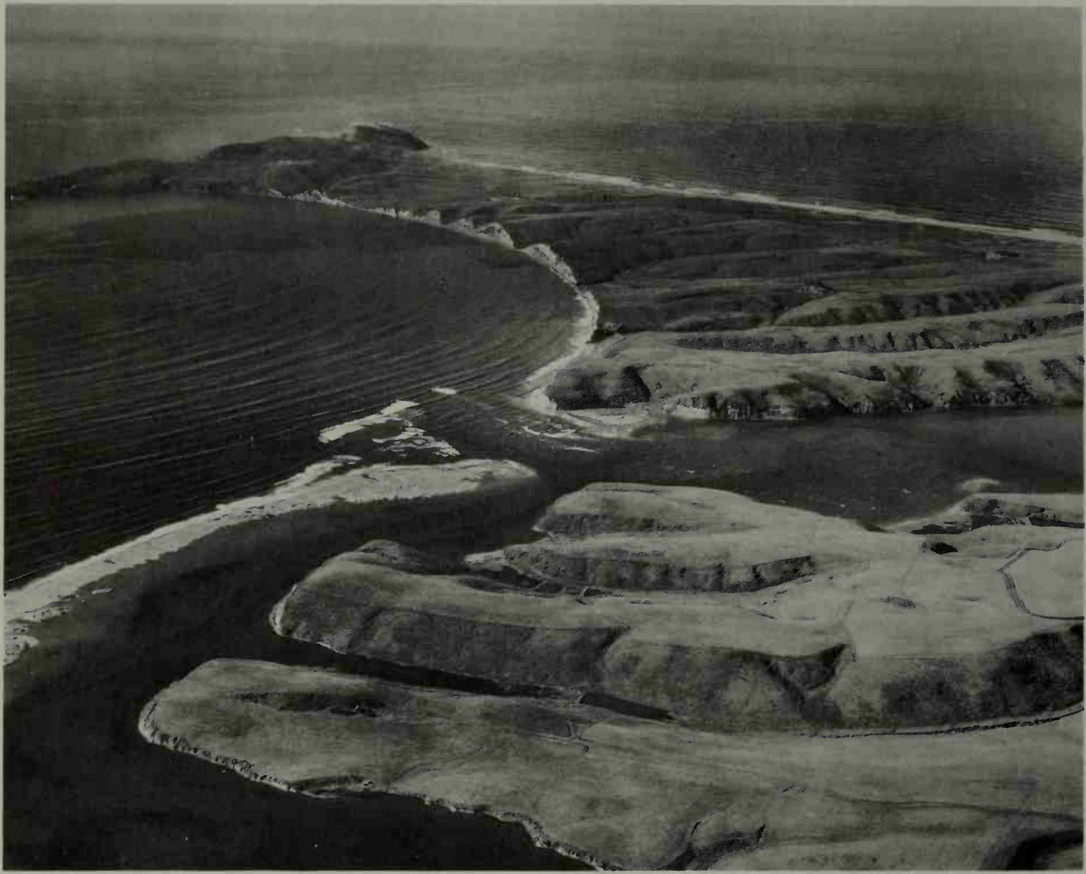
BODEGA BAY
TOMALES BAY
INVERNESS RIDGE
PREVAILING WIND
10'
POINT REYES
DRAKE'S COVE
"- - -, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line.
38°
DRAKES BAY
In which height
it pleased God to send us into a fair and good Baye with a good winde to enter the same.
In this bay wee ankered the seventeenth of June"
BOLINAS BAY
SAN FRANCISCO ENTRANCE
50'
DEPARTURE COURSE
FARALLON ISLANDS
"we called them the Ilands of Saint James."
The World Encompassed
40'
0
5
10
15
NAUTICAL MILES
R. Aker '64

Arrival at Drakes Bay

Map showing the sequence of Drake's discovery of the bay bearing his name as reconstructed from description contained in *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake* by Richard Hakluyt.

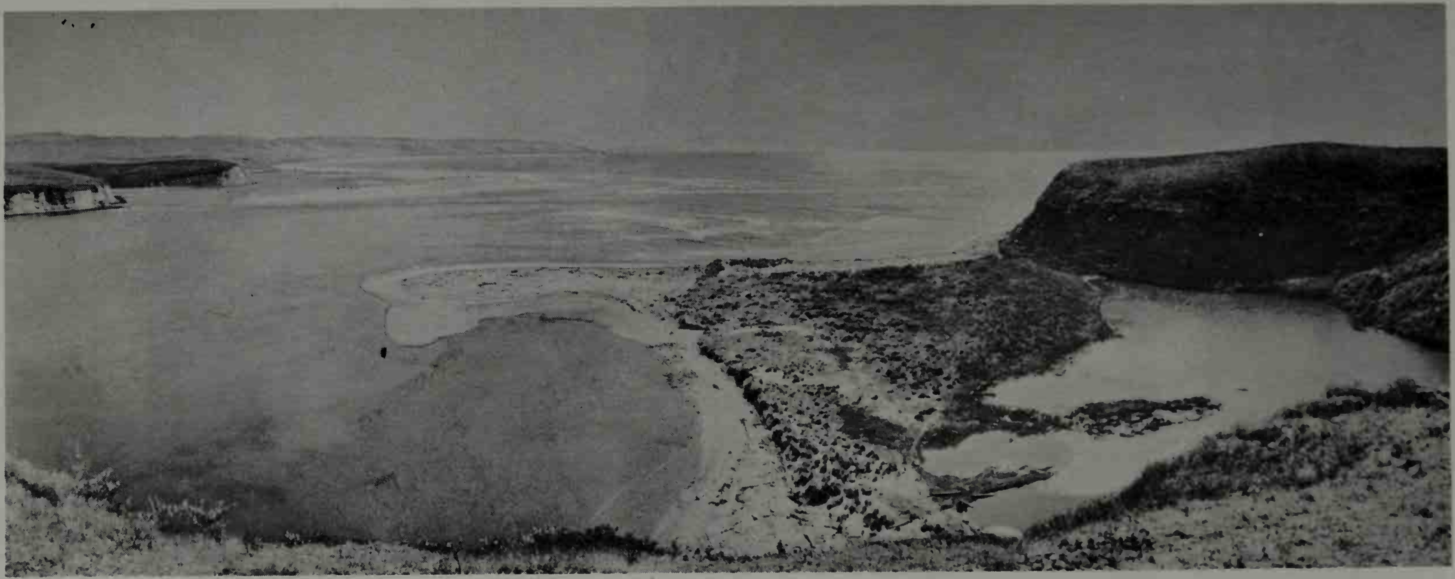
*Courtesy of Drake Navigators Guild*



NORTHWEST CRESCENT OF DRAKES BAY

Bordered by white cliffs the shore sweeps in an arc from distant Point Reyes until broken by the estero entrance, on the far shore of which lies Portus Novae Albionis, the site of Drake's encampment.

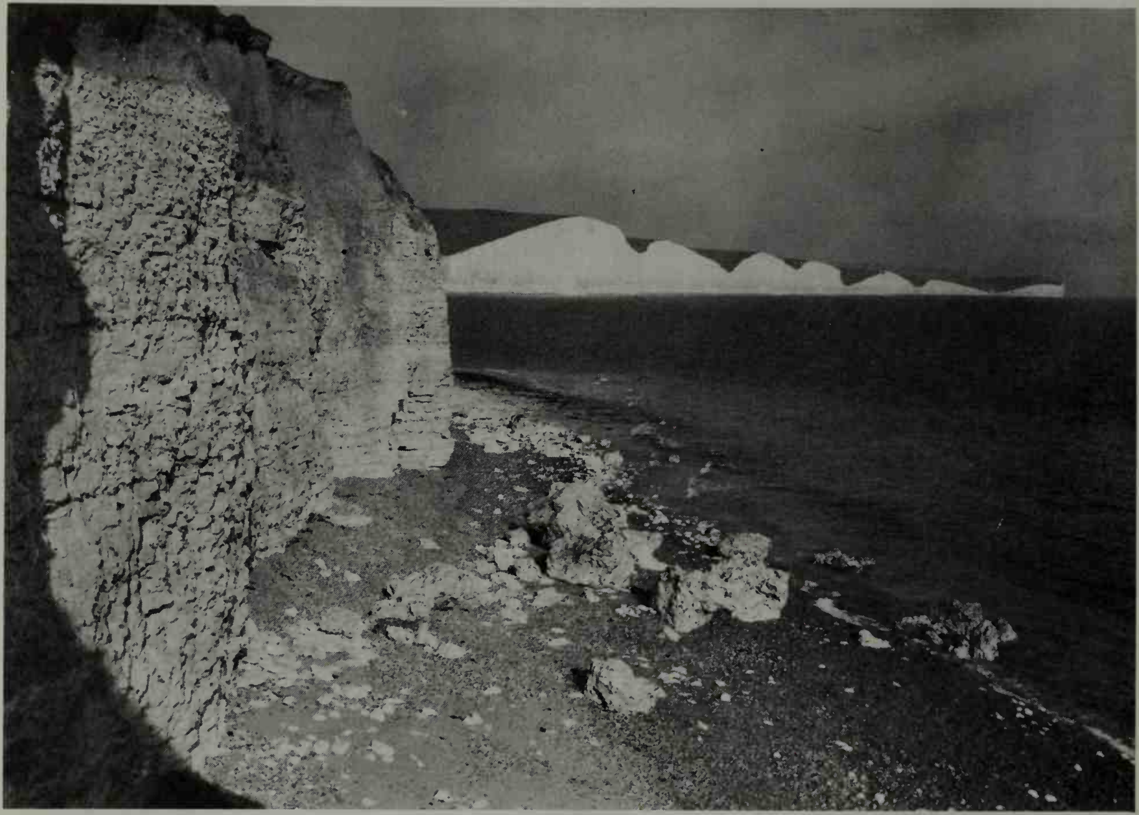
*Courtesy of Aero Photographers, Sausalito*



Drakes Cove

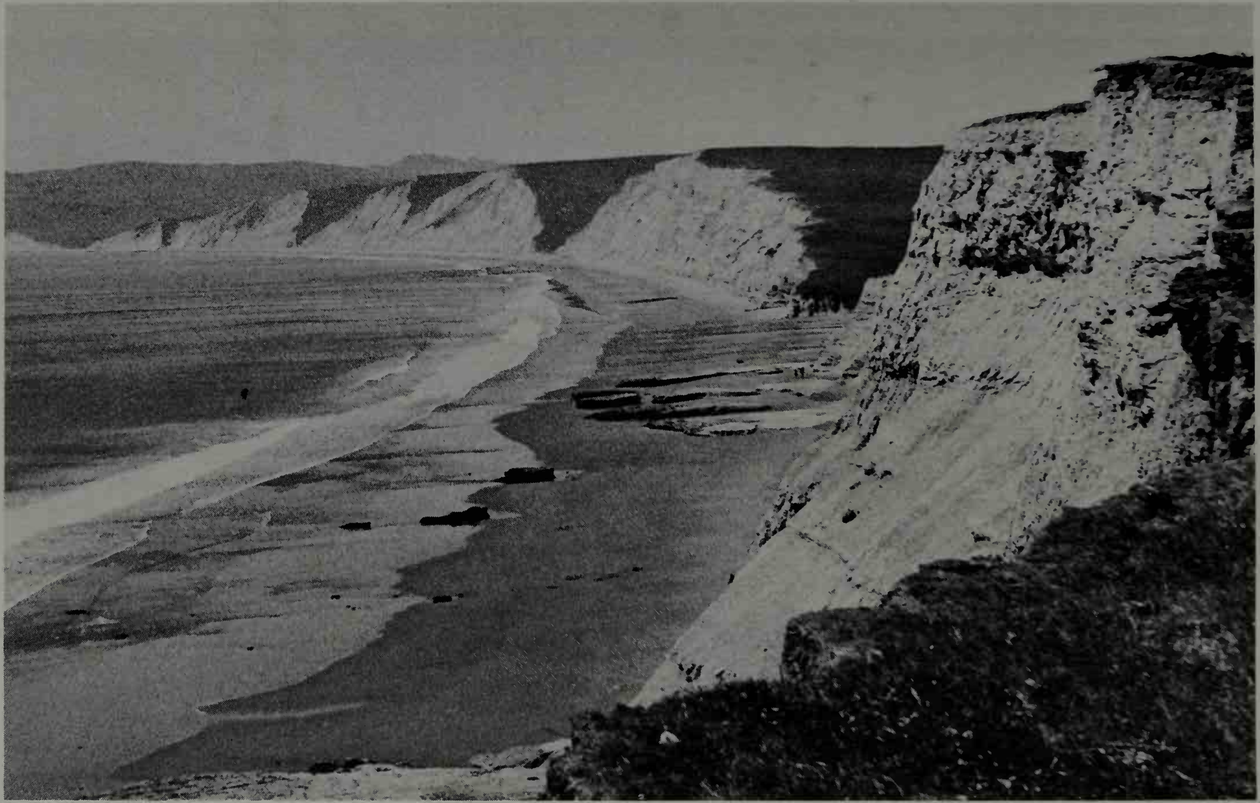
Here Drake built a fort and laid claim to Nova Albion in 1579. The inner portion of the cove survives as a shallow lagoon. The encampment was located at the base of the far hill at right.

*Courtesy of Drake Navigators Guild*



THE SEVEN SISTERS OF SUSSEX, ENGLAND

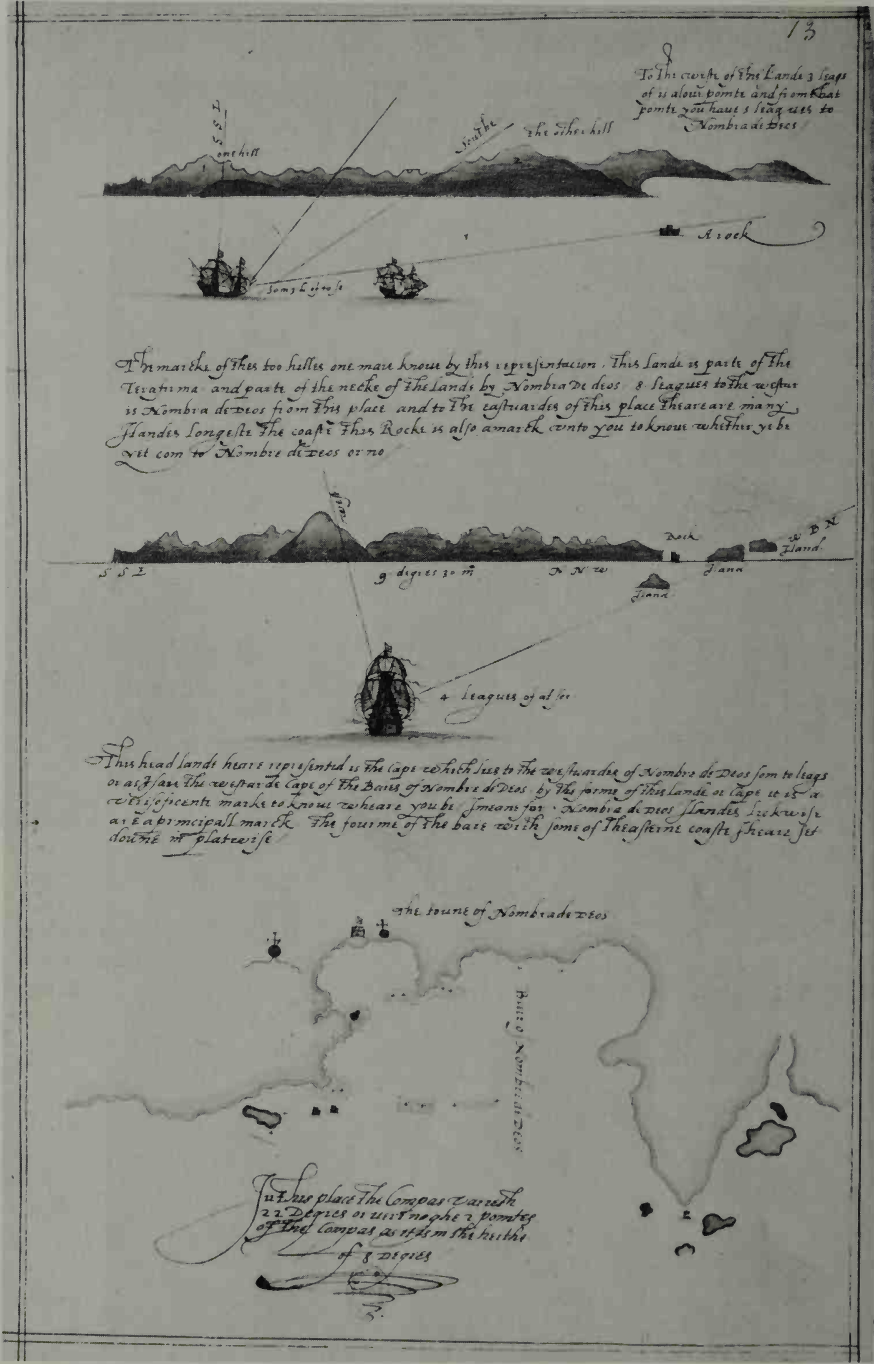
Albion, the ancient name for England, may well have come from seafarer's observations of white cliffs and chalk downs on the English Channel coast some eleven centuries before Drake's men were reminded of home by the white cliffs at Drakes Bay. *Courtesy of The Friends of Buckland Abbey*



The White Cliffs of Drakes Bay

Note the resemblance of the white cliffs at Drakes Bay to the Seven Sisters of Sussex, "This country our Generall named Albion – in respect of the white bancks and cliffes – that it might haue some affinity, euen in name also with our own country, which was sometime so called."

*Courtesy of Drake Navigators Guild*


13
S S E
one hill
Southe
the other hill
A rock
9 degres 30 m
S S E
N N W
Rock
W B N
Iland
Iland
Iland
4 leagues of at see
the toune of Nombra de Deos
Baie of Nombre de Deos

To the weste of this Lande 3 leags of is alowe pointe and from that pointe you haue 5 leagues to Nombra de Deos

The marcke of thes too hilles one maie knowe by this representacion. This lande is parte of the Teratirma and parte of the necke of the lande by Nombra de deos 8 leagues to the westuar is Nombra de deos from this place and to the eastuardes of this place theare are many Ilandes longeste the coaste This Rocke is also a marck unto you to knowe whither ye be yet com to Nombre de deos or no

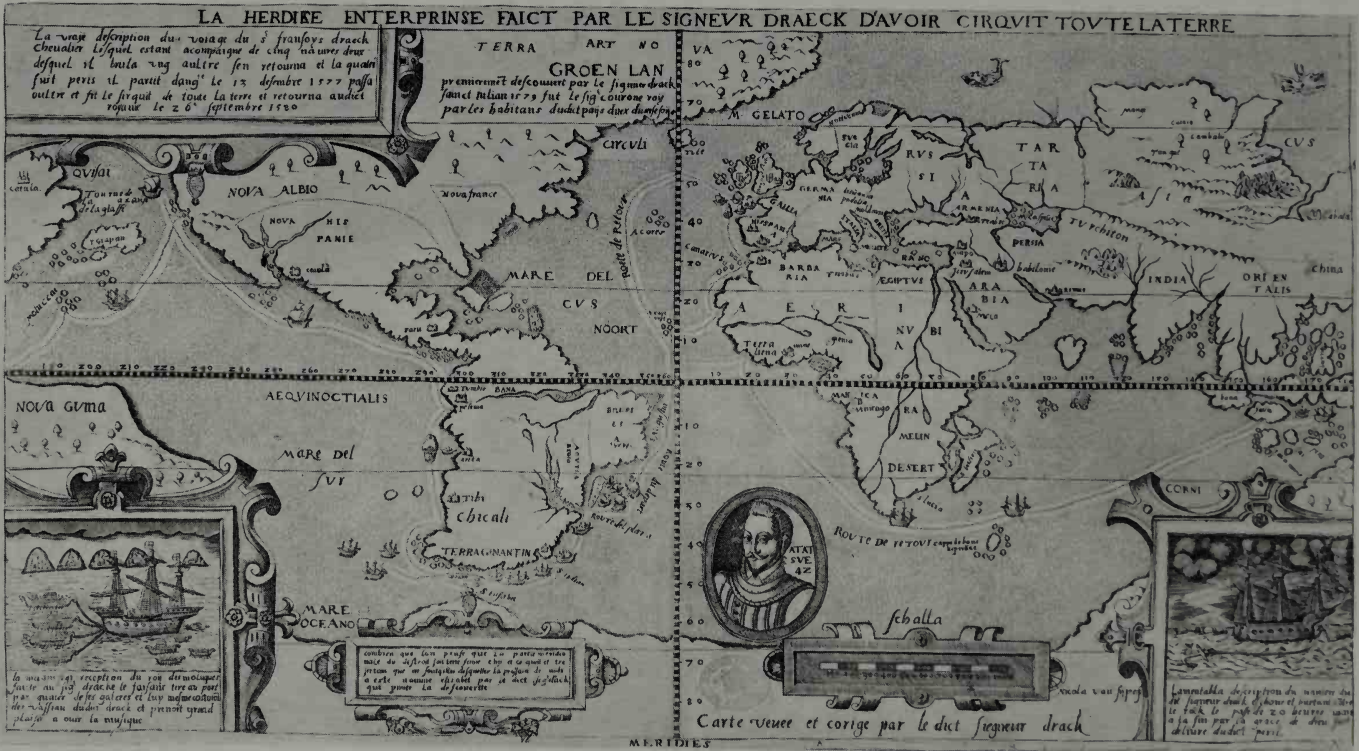
This head lande heare represented is the cape which lies to the westuardes of Nombre de Deos som 10 leags or as I saie the westuarde cape of the Baies of Nombre de Deos by the forme of this lande or cape it is a verie suficente marke to knowe wheare you be I meane for Nombra de Deos Ilandes lickwise are a principall marck The fourme of the baie with some of the easterne coaste is heare set doune in platewise

In this place the Compas varieth 22 Degres or nere neghe 2 pointes of the Compas as it is in the heithe of 8 Degres

VIEW OF NOMBRE DE DIOS

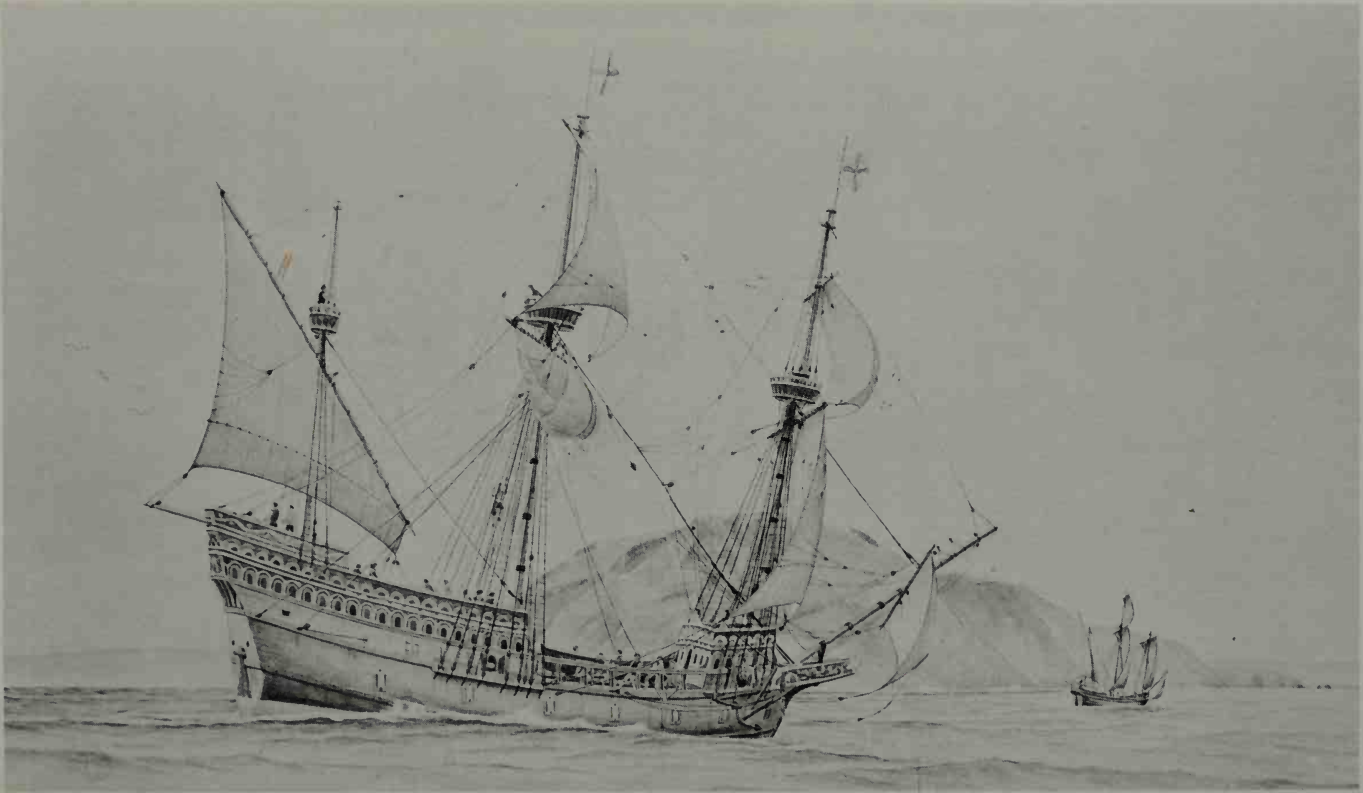
This watercolor sketch, made during Drake's last voyage to the Spanish Main (1595-1596), shows the care with which the sixteenth-century seaman noted details of sea and shore. Today's sailor could easily orient himself by means of these graphic notes.

*Courtesy of Bibliothêque Nationale, Paris*


LA HERDIKE ENTERPRINSE FAICT PAR LE SIGNEVR DRAECK D'AVOIR CIRQVIT TOVTE LA TERRE
La vraje description du voiage du s^r fransoys draech Cheualier lesquel estant acompaigne de cinq nauires deux desquel il brula vng aultre sen retourna et la quatri fust peris il partit dang^e le 13 desembre 1577 passa oultre et fit le sirquit de toute la terre et retourna audict royaume le 26^e septembre 1580
TERRA ART NO
GROEN LAN
VA
M GELATO
circuli
QVIVIRA
NOVA ALBIO
NOVA HISPANIE
Nova francie
MARE DEL NOORT
CVS
Acores
TARTARIA
RVSSIA
ASIA
TVRchiton
PERSIA
INDIA
ORIENTALIS
China
ARABIA
AEGIPTVS
BARBARIA
AFRICA
NVBIA
MELIN DESERT
AEQVINOCTIALIS
NOVA GVINA
Mare del Sur
Chicali
TERRA GNANTIN
MARE OCEANO
CORNI
Route de retour
ATAT SVE 42
schalla
Nicola van Sijpe
Carte veuee et corige par le dict signeur drach
MERIDIES

**The Earliest Extant Map of Drake's Circumnavigation**

This crude carte is thought to have been issued in Antwerp, 1581. Engraved by Nicola van Sijpe, it bears the inscription: "Map seen and corrected by said Sir Drake." Note "Nova Albio" extending to the Atlantic Coast.



APPROACHING DRAKES BAY

The *Golden Hind* rounding Point Reyes, June 17, 1579, with the small Spanish bark brought from Central America, "till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same."

*Watercolor by Raymond Aker, President of Drake Navigators Guild* voyage up the east coast of Europe in 530 B. C. that was quoted by the Roman writer Avienus.[6] Since "albi" is a word unit meaning "white" this ancient name for England may well have come from seafarer observations of white cliffs and chalk downs on the English coast some eleven centuries before Drake's men were reminded of home by the *white cliffs* and downs at Drakes Bay in 1579. Imagine the feelings of Drake and his men who, on arriving within the protective arm of the bay a year and a half after leaving England, found these white cliffs identical with the "Seven Sisters" of Sussex on their home shore.

"Punta de barrancas blancas" (Promontory of the White Cliffs) appears on the Vizcaíno chart of his anchorage at "Puerto de los reyes" in 1603.[7] Many plans of harbors and ports of the California coast were made by the cosmographer, Gerónimo Martín Palacios, and the cartographer, Enrico Martínez who accompanied Sebastián Vizcaíno on his expedition of 1602-1603. These charts give descriptions of distinctive coast formations, i.e., the "chopped-off" cliffs near Half Moon Bay (Costa de barrancas tejadas to the north of Crescenda grande) and the "rugged" cliffs (Costa de barrancas ásperas) along the north coast below Cape Mendocino.[8] However, in the summary chart made from thirty-two of the Vizcaíno charts discovered by the officers of *Sutil* and *Mexicana* in archives at Madrid, prior to 1802, the only designation of "white cliffs" is at the bay that extends northeastward and southerly from Point Reyes.[9]

The navigators point of view, as demonstrated, is wholly visual and deliberate. To present-day American navigators, to English seamen of the sixteenth century, to a Spanish explorer and his cosmographers of the early seventeenth century—as to any seaman who has been in this reach—*white cliffs* specifically identify Drakes Bay.

A landsman today looks out to sea from the Golden Gate bridge. In clear weather he may see the Farallon Islands. He also sees what appears to him to be a wide entrance to San Francisco Bay. What he has failed to take into consideration is the limited scope of vision of navigators on shipboard.

The height of eye on Golden Gate Bridge is close to 270 feet. The height of eye of a navigator on a ship such as the *Golden Hind* would be approximately twenty-five feet, giving him about six miles vision to his horizon. Because of the earth's curve, the Farallons some twenty-six miles away are not visible from a small vessel in the vicinity of the Golden Gate Bridge; also, the channel of the Golden Gate would not be visible from more than six miles offshore. With modern charts and navigational aids, including the lightship and radio direction finder stations plus the San Francisco Bar Pilots Association service, today's shipping is afforded easy approach to the narrow entrance channel.

On leaving Guatalco, Mexico, Francis Drake sailed the *Golden Hind* northward far out to sea, possibly anticipating a quick return to England by way of the much sought Strait of Anian. When he reached the coast of Oregon inclement weather turned him southward. He followed the coast closely without landing "till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same."[10]

Not many navigators are "sent" into a bay. An unknown bay is entered ordinarily with great care and precaution. Why "sent" in this instance?

At latitude 38° the arm forming Drakes Bay extends approximately twelve miles into the ocean. When off Point Reyes Drake found himself too far offshore to continue a diligent search of the coast. On heading eastward inshore, the northern sweep of Drakes Bay was revealed. With the prevailing northwest wind, a single tack was sufficient to carry him up into the bay. Here he found the "faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same."[11] To Drake it must have seemed a godsend after sixty-two days at sea without landing.

It may seem incomprehensible to the twentieth century layman that San Francisco Bay, an outstanding feature of California maps for almost two hundred years, was not discovered until the late eighteenth century—and then not by seamen but by a party of Portolá's land expedition led by Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega, in 1769. The historical fact remains, however, that the Golden Gate was not recognized as a bay entrance from the seaward side until it had been discovered from a height on land.

The first ship to enter San Francisco Bay was the *San Carlos* commanded by Don Manuel de Ayala, under orders from the government of Spain to examine the port of San Francisco.

The log of the *San Carlos* discloses that three approaches were made to within the Gulf of the Farallons, two of which were aborted because of nightfall when the courses were reversed.[12] The third approach, on which the Golden Gate was sighted and entered, required over twelve hours of maneuvering with strong currents and tides before the vessel finally made the channel and dropped anchor approximately a league inside the entrance, under Fort Point, for the night. This occurred on August 5, 1775.

The *San Carlos* log gives many details of strong currents in the entrance channel and the bay and mentions difficulties of anchoring. On its departure, on September 7, the *San Carlos* was carried against some rocks by a strong current. The damage to the vessel required temporary repairs before it could proceed out to sea.

Close to two centuries of navigational advance and practice separate the voyages of the *Golden Hind* and the *San Carlos.* The contrasting experiences recorded concerning the two voyages demonstrate that these vessels entered bays distinctly different in character.

George Davidson, who came to California in 1850 with the first Coast Geodetic Survey team sent to chart the Pacific Coast, contributed valuable research on Drake in California. His accomplishments as a historian, internationally recognized geographer and astronomer, in addition to his fifty years of distinguished service with the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, give him a place of high honor among scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although government assignments took him to Japan, Panama, Alaska, and the Atlantic Coast, from 1852 to his death in 1911, San Francisco was intermittently his base of operations and his place of residence.

Davidson's first definitive work relative to Drake was published as an appendix to the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey of 1886.[13] As a personal project he researched records of the early Spanish, English, North American, and French navigators while in command of the surveying brig *T. H. Fauntleroy* and engaged also in writing a Coast Pilot for western use. His *Voyages on the North-West Coast of America, 1539-1603* stands as the first collation of the early landfalls with scientific coastal surveys.

In 1890 the California Historical Society published Davidson's *Identi-*

*fication of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*. This was written to correct mid-nineteenth century assumptions that Drake might have entered San Francisco Bay; to affirm his 1886 identification of "Portus Novae Albionis, 38°" with Drakes Bay 38°; and to present navigational proof that Drake could not have entered San Francisco Bay.[14]

An outstanding contribution of Davidson's monograph of 1890 is contained in his critical descriptions and analyses of charts from the sixteenth to eighteenth century. Copies of early maps and charts, some of which were then made public for the first time, were used as illustrations. Notable are the Dudley manuscript charts based on information derived from Drake, which Davidson obtained from the Royal Library at Munich, and charts from Dudley's *Arcano del Mar* supplied by the Harvard College Library. It is significant that the early Dudley manuscript chart (showing La Punta and B: di noua Albion with the mouth of Il Porto bonissimo designated as a place of anchorage in approximately the position of Drakes Estero) bears soundings of six, five, four, and three fathoms in a pattern that closely agrees with the depths recorded on the Coast and Geodetic chart.

Davidson's analyses of the charts presented substantiate his concluding thesis, "Drake Could Not Have Been in San Francisco Bay."[15] In the light of recent confusing controversy, however, it appears that both the historical charts and Davidson's presentation of cogent navigational facts have been avoided or overlooked by some authorities.

In 1908, three years after retirement from the faculty of the University of California, George Davidson published his final conclusions on the subject of Drake's voyage along the Pacific Coast. These were based on more extensive research of additional early charts and documents. In this monograph he also corrected some earlier minor errors. His purpose is clearly stated in the introduction:

> In a somewhat long life of activity on this coast in the lines of geodesy, astronomy, geography and navigation, with conditions and opportunities that will not again fall to the lot of one man, we propose, in this paper, to demonstrate that Francis Drake did not reach the latitude of forty-eight degrees, and that he did not sail the *Golden Hinde* into the Bay of San Francisco. That last honor was reserved for the Spanish "paquebot *San Carlos*" alias *Toysón de Oro*, in August 1775.[16]

Davidson's monographs disclose a plethora of confusion on the subject of Drake on our West Coast, chiefly by armchair historians—including such distinguished persons as Samuel Johnson in 1741 and Jules Verne in 1879. He commented on the lack of "sea ken" and navigational understanding of his contemporaries:

> In the question of Drakes Bay or San Francisco Bay as the resort of the *Golden Hinde*, much has been written, but little or no examination has been made.
>
> Among the many authorities who have written upon that subject we recall no one who was personally familiar with the details of Point Reyes Head, and with the advantages of Drakes Bay as a harbor or refuge in any weather. We have shown our acquaintance and experience with that anchorage since 1852; and the discussion of the subject of our "Identification" paper of 1890, has not been traversed.[17]

Oscar Lewis, Davidson's biographer, commented on the argument which "went merrily on both during Davidson's lifetime and later" between him and fellow historians who held different views. He also quoted Henry R. Wagner as having said of George Davidson, "In many respects he was the most remarkable man that has ever lived in California, and all of us who live in California and enjoy the fruits of his labor should honor his memory."[18]

In defense of nineteenth century and earlier historians who identified Drake with the present Bay of San Francisco, we may well add that the seventeenth and eighteenth century Spanish maps used "San Francisco" as the name of the present Drakes Bay. The chart of Costansó, the engineer with Ortega's party on the Portolá Expedition of 1769, designated the newly discovered waters of San Francisco Bay as Estero de San Francisco with a conjectured outlet emptying into the Puerto de San Francisco, or Drakes Bay as it is now known.

The public image of Drake has long been distorted for popular consumption. It is unfortunate that many of today's publications, especially in the juvenile field, have followed a swashbuckling, romantic pattern that misrepresents Drake's character and overlooks the precedents he set for future generations to follow.

Knowledge of Francis Drake *as a man* is one of the most compelling factors in Drake research. His stature as a navigator and commander, and the purposes behind his voyage of circumnavigation have a direct bearing on the subject of Francis Drake and Nova Albion.

In an age when seamen had few rights, Drake showed great concern for the well-being of his men. His victualling, refreshment of his men, and general treatment were far in advance of ordinary practices of the sixteenth century.

In a period when the Articles of Geneva were nonexistent, Francis Drake treated prisoners with exceptional consideration. Proof of this exists in numerous depositions preserved in the archives and great libraries of Spain and Mexico since Drake's day.

"That Drake inspired men of all nationalities and degrees, who came into personal contact with him, with respect and admiration, is amply proved by the reports of his prisoners, who can certainly not be accused of being prejudiced in his favor," states Zelia Nuttall who edited *New Light on Drake* from contemporary documents that she found in Mexico City, Simancas, Madrid, Seville, Paris, London, and Oxford. "Their depositions abound with gratuitous records of small acts of kindliness or generosity performed by him, and quotations of the words he uttered."[19]

Commenting on eye-witness accounts of the seizure of every ship or boat taken by Drake in the South Sea, Mrs. Nuttall wrote:

> The testimony of the twenty prisoners, thus brought together, reveals that, contrary to the false accusations that were maliciously invented and circulated later on, the only man who was killed during the seizure of a ship by Drake was the Englishman who was slain at Callao de Lima by the Spanish sailors of the ship from Panama, belonging to Alonzo Bautista Patagalana.[20]

The testimony of Don Francisco de Zárate, a nobleman, reveals that "Drake took but little from him, was courteous in doing so, and apologized for helping himself to the Spanish gentleman's stores of linen, Chinese porcelains and silks . . . In this, as in other cases, Drake's actions are seen and recorded in a pleasanter and more favorable light by his Spanish prisoners than by those of his own countrymen and companions whose written accounts have been preserved."[21] In a letter to Don Martín Enríquez, Viceroy of New Spain (April 16, 1579), Zárate wrote about Drake restoring to some of the passengers their boxes "and on arriving at our vessel he boarded her first and having all our sailors called together, he gave each one a handful of reals. He also gave the same to some other men who appeared to be the most needy."[22]

A similar report of gifts distributed to some of the men, as well as the master, before releasing a vessel appears in the testimony of San Juan de Antón and other prisoners interrogated.[23]

Two passengers on the captured bark of Rodrigo Tello disagreed concerning the amount paid by Drake to the pilot Alonzo Sánchez Colchero, but whether it was fifty or one hundred reales it seems fair return for some navigation charts.

The Portugese pilot Nuño da Silva, who spent almost a year and three months aboard the *Golden Hind*, was extensively questioned by Spanish officials at Guatalco, Mexico, where Drake released him. He was later tried for heresy by the Inquisition at Mexico City. His testimony and repeated accounts of the voyage corroborate many details found elsewhere and add additional facts otherwise undisclosed. He considered Drake "a great mariner" and declared:

> Francis Drake carried with him three books on navigation. One of these was in French, another in English. The third was Magellan's *Discovery;* in what language this was, deponent knoweth not. Francis Drake kept a book in which he entered his navigation and in which he delineated birds, trees and sea-lions. He is an adept in painting and has with him a boy, a relative of his, who is a great painter. When they both shut themselves up in his cabin they were always painting.[24]

Drake's knowledge of navigation, his ship handling acumen, and his amazing ability of command are abundantly documented—by his enemies as well as by his countrymen. His achievement "in first turning up a furrow about the whole world"[25] and his qualities as a man, are given by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, who says:

> . . . we find that his intellect was ahead of his day and capable of seeing what was necessary for the good of his profession and his country. He could divine great things—the necessity for discipline, the necessity for a sea-faring nation of the command of the sea and the principles for preserving that power. These were new things in his day and he saw them dimly, but his character made him put them into operation so far as he could in the manner open to him. . . .
>
> . . . He lived in times when the change from mediaeval to modern life was taking place, and his capacity put him in the front rank of those who effected the change. . . . he was . . . by intellect and character one of the greatest of all Englishmen.[26]
>
> . . . He had established his reputation as a humane fighter and leader of men, as a great captain of seamen, and he had all the experience for such an attempt as a voyage round the world in the footsteps of Magellan.[27]

A recent tribute, under the heading of "Francis Drake Leads the Way," has been written by Alan Villiers:

> In 1577-1580 the Englishman Francis Drake took a small three-master, *Golden Hind*, around the world without a base anywhere. And she was not even as large as a small modern tug. One leg of that circumnavigation was from Java to Sierra Leone—9,700 miles—without a port of call or a stop for maintenance.
>
> Drake's circumnavigation demonstrated seaworthiness and seamanship as never before. By the end of the 16th century European sailing ships could go anywhere there was water to float them.[28]

This twentieth century comment echoes an estimate of Francis Drake written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in his report of attempts to capture the English corsair on the Pacific Coast in 1579: "A man who has had the spirit to do what he has done will not be lacking in courage to persevere in his attempt."[29]

To the assessments of Drake as a man and of his contributions to his era and the world at large, however, must be added facts concerning Drake's purposes for the voyage of circumnavigation. These purposes may best be evaluated in relation to the accomplishments of the voyage.

Early in the sixteenth century Portugal and Spain established trade routes to the East Indies and laid claim to the wealth of the New World. The first break through this impending stranglehold on world commerce and trade was made by Francis Drake during his circumnavigation in the *Golden Hind*. Drake changed the course of sixteenth century events (1) by successfully navigating the Straits of Magellan and laying claim to the "Elizabethides" south of the Strait where he "proudly set the crown and arms of His Queen beneath the first unoccupied portion of America which he discovered and solemnly took possession of, thus marking also a new 'good route . . . to the South Sea' he claimed to have discovered";[30] (2) by his successful defiance of Spain in her private territorial waters along the Pacific Coast; (3) by claiming Nova Albion for Queen Elizabeth I during his thirty-six day encampment in Alta California well north of established Spanish holdings; (4) by his visit to Ternate in the Moluccas, where he "established friendly relations with the Sultan and took on board a load of spices . . . regarded in Drake's day as one of the most notable events of his voyage";[31] and (5) by successfully carrying out the feat of circumnavigation projected by Magellan but completed by a second in command. Furthermore, Drake took time to search the north Pacific coast of America for the Strait of Anian, believed by "armchair geographers of the 16th century" to lead into a navigable passage north of North America, a matter of immediate concern to his contemporaries.[32]

That this pattern of purposeful events was planned far in advance (and was in no sense the product of chance or expedient circumstance, such as the popular assumption that *Drake had to go on around the world because he did not dare return* through the Strait of Magellan) has been clearly shown by sixteenth century documents brought to public attention in recent years. It is known *now* that Drake's accomplishments during the voyage fulfilled plans and forwarded objectives ardently advocated in England prior to his departure.

A basic clue appeared in 1914, with the publication of the declarations of Captain John Oxenham and others questioned by officers of the Inquisition at Lima, Peru, in 1579, concerning projects of exploration of the Strait of Magellan with intent to found settlements. Oxenham, who had accompanied Francis Drake on the 1573 Nombre de Dios expedition, stated that "four years ago an English knight named Richard Grenville . . . applied to the Queen for a licence to come to the Strait of Magellan and to pass to the South Sea, in order to search for land or islands where to found settlements . . . The Queen gave the licence . . . [and later] revoked the licence."[33] He also declared that "if the Queen were to give a licence to Captain Francis Drake he would certainly come and pass through the Strait, because he is a very good mariner and pilot, and there is no better one than he in England who could accomplish this."[34]

In 1917, the letters patent granted to Grenville and later revoked were discovered among the Calendar State Papers of the reign of Elizabeth I.[35] Some twelve years later, E. G. R. Taylor discovered the Draft Project of Francis Drake's great voyage.[36] These two documents express similar purposes of exploration directed toward eventual colonization and extended trade opportunities. Both Grenville and Drake intended to explore "the superiority of a southward voyage for an attack on the problem of the North-West Passage from the Pacific side."[37] With rights of passage through the Strait of Magellan established, and discovery of the Strait of Anian (supposed to open westward somewhere in California), England might control entrances to the Pacific both north and south of the American continents.

The first draft of Drake's proposed voyage "shows that the lands in the south to be explored and occupied were not the South American coast, which was already under Spanish obedience as far as 40° S., nor the unoccupied parts of South America . . . The inference is that the lands to be sought for were those of Terra Australis, which were depicted on Mercator's map of 1569 and Ortelius' of 1570 . . . and so making for the Moluccas along its supposed coast; and failing this, to make for the Straits of Anian by which he might return."[38] However, as R. A. Skelton points out:

> . . . Drake in 1578, blown south from the western end of Magellan Strait, 'plainly discovered that the same terra australis, left or sett down to be terra incognita before we came there, to bee no Continent . . . but broken Islands and large passages amongst them,' where 'the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a most large and free scope.'[39]

Thus Drake's purpose to extend the dominions of England's Queen Elizabeth I for future colonization in the South Sea could go no farther than his action on August 24, 1578, when he took possession of islands south of the Strait of Magellan where "one of them was very faire and large and of a fruitfull soile, vpon which, being next vnto vs and the weather very calme, our Generall with his gentlemen and certaine of his mariners, then landed, taking possession thereof in her Maiesties name, and to her vse, and called the same *Elizabeth* Iland."[40]

Ten months later, however, Drake staked a major claim to continental territory for England's Queen when he landed on the coast of California where it was claimed:

> The Spaniards neuer had any dealing, or so much as set a foote in this country, the vtmost of their discoueries reaching onely to many degrees Southward of this place.[41]

There, during his thirty-six day encampment at Drakes Bay, Francis Drake accepted a crown and offerings from the natives:

> These things being so freely offered, our Generall thought not meet to reiect or refuse the same . . . chiefly for that he knew not what good end God had brought this to pass, or what honour and profit it might bring to our countrie in time to come.
>
> Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enjoy, as it was now her

> proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, . . .[42]

This claim was permanently documented with Drake's famed Plate of Brass, which was first found within the Drakes Bay area by William Caldeira in 1933[43] and is now in the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley.[44]

Fresh perspective on Drake's action in this instance is given by E. G. R. Taylor. In discussing the newly discovered Draft Plan of Drake's voyage, she wrote:

> Drake had ample excuse for formulating a new plan nearer to his own desire, but he did not neglect to seek, if only somewhat cursorily, for light on the Anian problem when that desire had been fulfilled. His visit to New Albion proved that there was no reason to suppose the approaches from the north to be blocked by a land bridge, while the land he claimed in the Queen's name was that already pointed out by Gilbert as suited to serve as a half-way house to the East, supposing the north-west or north-east passages to be opened.[45]

The extent of Drake's claim to land in North America, however, has not been generally recognized, although sixteenth century documents imply that it was interpreted as valid in extension to the Atlantic from the Pacific Coast.

In 1940 David Beers Quinn drew attention to "a host of schemes" for following up Drake's exploits after the return of the *Golden Hind* in 1580:

> . . . On 9 January 1581 Mendoza [the Spanish Ambassador] reported a vast fourfold project. Drake was to return to the East Indies; Henry Knollys was to winter with another fleet in the region of the strait of Magellan and join Drake in the Moluccas . . . Sir Humphrey Gilbert was intended to go with six ships to Cuba . . . while Frobisher was to be induced to renew his attempt on the North-west Passage in order to link up with Drake by that route. . . . Elizabeth vetoed further expeditions to the Far East by way of the Pacific for the time being, and diverted Knollys to the command of an expedition to help Dom Antonio in the Azores. The rest of the protagonists were ordered to concentrate on an expedition to the Far East by way of the Cape, and this finally sailed under Fenton in May 1582.[46]

The following year, 1583, Sir Francis Drake backed Sir Humphrey Gilbert's proposal to colonize "in the continent of the hether part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude," according to *Sir George Peckham's True Reporte*, which states:

> Whose Countrey dooth above the climats both of Spayne and Fraunce, stretche out it selfe towardes England onelie. In manner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onelie set foorth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also founde to bee true by the discovery of our nation, and other straungers, who have often times travailed upon the same Coastes.[47]

Dr. Quinn's comment on the Peckham *True Reporte* emphasizes the stress placed on "the 'lawfull tytle' of the Crown of England to the territories" for the planting of colonies "between latitudes 30° and 60° N."[48]

The possibility that Drake's claim to Nova Albion was not intended to apply merely to a coastal strip along the Pacific is supported by a rare sixteenth century map of the circumnavigation, engraved by Nicola van Sijpe and thought to have been first issued at Antwerp in 1581.[49] Below a medallion portrait of Sir Francis Drake, this map is inscribed: "Map seen and corrected by said Sir Drake."

Zelia Nuttall, who drew attention to this map in 1914, attributed to Drake's corrections the "crowned arms of Elizabeth over Nova Albion" and the designation of specific areas to the south and east as Spanish and French held territories. She stated:

> It took some time before I grasped what I now believe to be the full significance of the two lines of demarcation which can be seen drawn on the North American Continent. One extends from the Gulf of California to the Mississippi river across the Continent, roughly marking the former border of the United States and Mexico. The other encloses "New France," the French possessions on the eastern coast of North America. These obviously indicate an intention to map out a "New England" embracing the entire North American Continent north and west of the limits assigned to New Spain and New France, including a tongue of territory stretching southward, separating these and terminating in Florida.[50]

Certainly, on this map, the inscription "Nova Albion" lies well to the east of the Drake encampment site on the California coast and, save for the portion outlined as "Nova France," there is no eastern border except that of the Atlantic coastline.

We are indebted to D. W. Waters, curator of Navigation and Astronomy at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, for having drawn attention to the "great increase in English maritime activities" immediately following Drake's circumnavigation, and to Drake's involvement with "the first attempts at colonization in the New World. . . . Indeed, in commendatory verses preceding the text of the *True Reporte* of Gilbert's ill-fated voyage of 1583, Drake encouraged his fellow countrymen to follow 'the path to Fame' and to seek 'golde' in the 'New-found Landes' in the west."[51]

R. A. Skelton, curator of Maps and the Library at the British Museum, also credited "Drake's return from the Pacific in 1580 and the failure of expeditions to discover northern passages to Cathay" as having "revived English interest in 'western planting,' or settlement in the temperate lands of America to the north of the Spanish colonies."[52] Further, in discussing the first successfully founded colony on the James River in 1607, he wrote, "Yet its charter granted the colony rights of expansion 'into the land throughout from sea to sea west and north-west' and the colonists were instructed to seek a river by which 'you will soonest find the other sea'."[53]

These points of view led us to much of the documentation already cited and to the exploration of the probability that Drake's extended claim to land in North America, according to the Antwerp map of 1581, was used as justification for English colonization on the Atlantic seaboard. Maurice G. Holmes, who has concerned himself with the problem of Spain's apparent disinterest in Alta California during the initial period of English colonization in America, has also said, "In view of the fact that the English crown granted land to the colonists on a coast to coast basis, I think your suggestion *in re* the extent of Nova Albion is indeed cogent."

From this standpoint, the identification of the exact place of Drake's thirty-six day encampment on the California coast takes on prime historical importance. The spot where the *Golden Hind* was careened and made ready to continue the voyage around the world becomes a focal point of germination from which all English colonization along the Atlantic coast may have developed.[54] Though based on claims held from the fifteenth century Cabot voyages, Roanoke, Jamestown, and Plymouth could have sprung also from the seed planted here by Drake.[55]

The identification of any place depends upon multiple factors that converge at a specific point. Similarities of contour, the discovery of an artifact, or tenuous reasoning based on personal assumptions are not adequate to establish exact location—no matter how inviting they may be for pure speculation.

On June 14, 1956, when the findings of the Drake Navigators Guild were presented before the California Historical Society at a meeting held in San Francisco, Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, honorary chairman of the Guild, said: "Unless Drake's calculation of latitude be proved wrong; Fletcher's observation of weather conditions be proved fraudulent; the landmark of 'white cliffs' be termed a falsification; the naming of the land 'Nova Albion' be considered a figment of nostalgia; the avowed purpose of the landing be declared a fiction; or the charting of *Portus Novae Albionis* be declared an imaginative invention only coincidentally true to periodic physical fact: until then, I take pleasure in presenting as the finding of the Guild that cove on the westerly shore of Drakes Estero adjacent to Drakes Bay as the site of Drake's careenage and thirty-six day encampment in 1579."[56]

At that same meeting, A. A. Cumming, F.M.A., curator of the City Museum and Art Gallery, Plymouth, and curator of Buckland Abbey, England's Drake museum, accepted the Drake Navigators Guild findings in an address which concluded with the following: "That little cove at the mouth of the Estero, sheltered from the wind, protected from the sea and hidden from hostile eyes, must have been a welcome sight, and I believe that Divine Providence guided him [Drake] to it."[57]

The identification and establishment of the site of Drake's landing depends upon the correlation of existing features with the details reported in contemporary accounts to form *a total body of evidence*. Drakes Cove alone meets this requirement.

Drakes Cove is located at latitude 38° where Drakes Bay offers the "faire and good Baye,"[58] the "commodius Rode,"[59] the "beautiful Sea-Bay"[60] wherein the cove within the estuary entrance provides the "conuenient and fit harborough"[61] so essential to the hazardous operation of careening in order to clean and repair the *Golden Hind*. The cove is sheltered and free of surge from sea and swell, and offers excellent shore and tidal conditions for this purpose. The cove area is sufficiently extensive to have accommodated the expedition.[62]

The Plate of Brass was found first by William Caldeira in the area near Drakes Cove. Twelve known middens (Indian mounds) containing sixteenth century artifacts exist in the surrounding area, yet none have been found on the shores of San Francisco Bay. There is a sixteenth century Indian village site located within earshot "neere about 3-quarters of an English mile distant." Many of the Indian villages were located close by the waterside, as described in *The Famous Voyage:* "In this Baye we ankered . . . and the people of the countery, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues unto us, and sent a present to our Generall." Such signs of habitation give assurance of the necessities of food, water, and firewood. The area bounds in food of the type mentioned in accounts of Drake's voyage "as Muscles, Seales, and such like." Furthermore this was Coast Miwok territory, which agrees with Heizer's and Elmendorf's ethnographic studies that led to the statement: "From a comparative analysis of the detailed descriptions of the native ceremonies, artifacts, and language I conclude that in the fullest authentic account, *The World Encompassed,* it is the Coast Miwok Indians that are referred to."[63]

The "white cliffes that lie toward the sea" bear a striking resemblance to the "Seven Sisters" of Sussex, England. Nova Albion's *Portus* was the first haven the *Golden Hind* found, "that being the onely place wherein at this present, we were of necessitie inforced to seeke reliefe of many things." The cove lies within the barren moorlands so suggestive of "how vnhandsome and deformed appear the face of the earth it selfe" and again "Hence comes the general squalidnesse and barenesse of the countrie." The inland "farre different from the shoare" is not observable from the shore as "a goodly country and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the vse of man." One must cross Inverness Ridge to note the difference between the bleak, windswept coastal region and the fertile valleys inland. Drake did this.

The weather conditions on the Point Reyes Peninsula today agree with those described in the basic accounts, i.e., continually visited with nipping cold during all the time Drake and his men were there, fog and overcast fourteen days on end, constant north and northwest wind, the sharpness of which is indicated by the description of the Indians attempting to shelter themselves under a lee bank if possible, crowding close together and shivering in their furs.

The Drake site is located at the foot of a hill "at the bottom whereof wee had built our fort," where there is an abundant supply of stone usable for an "intrenchement with walls of stone." In every instance where the Indians are mentioned approaching the camp (in *The World Encompassed)* they appear at the top of a hill and descend to the camp. At Drakes Cove an approach to the site from the land can only be made by descending from the hills above.

Drakes Cove fits the sixteenth century definition and usage of the term "portus," derived from the classical Latin still commonly used at that time, which denotes a port or harbor within a river or estuary near its mouth.[64] It meets the requirements of *strict* correlation with the *Hondius Broadside* "Portus Novae Albionis" inset[65] in its hard terrain and variable marine features according to cartographic symbols that indicate rolling hills, cliffs, flat beach, sand spit, and low sandbar island. The heading (fore and aft bearing) of the *Golden Hind* shown in this inset agrees with eddy conditions and direction of flow at Drakes Cove. Furthermore the site meets the direct scale of the inset.

The "Ilands of Saint Iames [Farallon Islands] lie not farre without this harborough." The Farallon Islands are closer to Drakes Bay and more easily reached by sailing vessels from this bay during the prevailing summer northwesterlies than they are from San Francisco Bay.

Many other correlative facts have been explored by the Drake Navigators Guild and found true to the Drakes Cove site as part of the *total body of evidence.*

The weight of evidence truly establishes Drakes Cove as the nodal point of Nova Albion. Here Francis Drake built a fort and set up a "post" to establish English rights of colonization on the main body of the North American continent.

## NOTES

1. The sixteenth century expansion of horizons called for new techniques and initial exploits comparable to twentieth century explorations of space. These were, however, accomplished without the intervening four centuries of accrued knowledge of navigation, mathematics, astronomy, and science.

2. N. M. Penzer, editor, *The World Encompassed and Analagous Contemporary Documents concerning Sir Francis Drake's Circumnavigation of the World, with an Appreciation of Achievement by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt.* (London, The Argonaut Press, 1926), p. 35. The text of *The Voyage About the World, by Sir Francis Drake*, a compilation by Drake's nephew and namesake, is

reprinted from the London edition of 1628. All documents have been compared with actual originals where possible and carefully cross checked by two officials in the Manuscript Room of the British Museum.

3. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 84.

4. *United States Coast Pilot:* PACIFIC COAST, *California, Oregon, and Washington* (Washington, D. C., United States Printing Office, 1943), p. 150. It is notable that, though cliffs are characteristic of this part of the California coast, the *Coast Pilot* mentions "white cliffs" only in this description of Drakes Bay. Other central California cliffs are described as rugged, rocky, precipitous, reddish, yellow, or whitish.

5. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 62.

6. Ivar Lissner, *The Silent Past* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1962), p. 164.

7. This translation of the sixteenth century Spanish inscription was suggested by D. W. Waters, curator of navigation and astronomy, National Martime Museum, England, in agreement with R. A. Skelton, curator of maps and the library, British Museum, Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, Jr., associate executive head of the department of modern European languages, Stanford University, and Arthur J. Cullen, director of Elbert Covell College, University of the Pacific, Stockton.

8. Vizcaíno expedition charts are preserved in Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Museo Naval, Madrid.

9. George Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California, in the year 1579* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1890), chart 10.

10. *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, from Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589), p. 23. See also, *The Plate of Brasse, Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the year 1579* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1953). The phrase "In which height" refers to latitude, and indicates that Drake made an easting along the 38th parallel of latitude.

11. That the wind is mentioned by Hakluyt in this passage suggests a special circumstance which existed with respect to entering the "Baye." To get up into Drakes Bay it was necessary for Drake to work up to the north or northeast, and to do this the prevailing northwesterly wind of late afternoon would have served admirably.

An account of this bay by Francisco de Bolaños, chief pilot of the Vizcaíno Expedition, 1601-1603, from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, translated by Henry R. Wagner, is as follows: "The coast runs to the southeast a quarter to the south until you reach 38½° where the land makes a point of medium height, which from a distance, being separated from the coast, looks like an island. The point is called 'Los Reyes' and ends in a very steep headland. On the northeast side it makes a very good shelter and port for all ships, in the latitude 38½°. I call attention here that in anchoring in this port, which is called San Francisco, against a south or southeast wind, you have to anchor at the end of the beach in the corner on the west-southwest side. On the northeast side, there are three white cliffs very near the sea. In front of the one in the center there enters from the sea an *estero* with a good entrance without surf. Anyone who enters will soon find friendly Indians and can easily find sweet water. On the southwest of this port there are six or seven small white *farallones*, one, larger than the others, which may be a little more than a league in circumference. Whoever comes from Cape Mendocino in search of the port, when six leagues away from the cape will sight by the southeast quarter to the south the Punta de los Reyes and will see the *Farallones*. This is a good landmark by which to know this port where the ship *San Agustin* was lost in the year 1595 while on her voyage of discovery and the cause of her loss was more by reason of the one who steered her than the bad weather." Except for the inaccuracy of latitude, Bolaños' report describes Drakes Bay as known today.

12. Zoeth S. Eldredge and E. J. Molera, *The March of Portolá and the Log of the San Carlos* (San Francisco, The Calif. Promotion Committee, 1909), pp. 54-58.

13. George Davidson, "Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America From 1539 to 1603," in *United States Coast and Geodetic Survey*, Appendix No. 7—Report for 1886 (Washington, D. C., United States Printing Office, 1887).

14. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, pp. 4-7.

15. Davidson, *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage*, pp. 55-58.

16. George Davidson, *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the year 1579: The Golden Hinde did not Anchor in the Bay of San Francisco* (San Francisco, Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1908), pp. 1-3, with reference to George Davidson, *The Discovery of San Francisco Bay, and the Rediscovery of the Puerto de Monterey* (San Francisco, Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1907).

17. Davidson, *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast*, p. 107.

18. Oscar Lewis, *George Davidson, Pioneer West Coast Scientist* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954), p. 110.

19. Zelia Nuttall, editor, *New Light on Drake: A Collection of Documents Relating to His Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1577-1580* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1914), p. xxiv.

20. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 135.

21. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 200.

22. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 205.

23. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p, 160.

24. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. 270, 303. Concerning the three books on navigation carried by Drake, D. W. Waters suggests for the one in French "perhaps Nicolas de Nicolai's translation of Pedro de Medina's manual, *L'Art de*

*Naviguer*, Lyons, 1554"; for the one in English "either Eden's translation of Cortés's work, *The Arte of Navigation*, London, 1561, or Bourne's *Regiment for the Sea*, London, 1574"; and "either Maximilian of Transylvania's *De Moluccis Insulis*, Rome and Cologne, 1523, or Pigafetta's *Le Voyage et Navigation faict par les Espanolz èc isles de Mollucques*, Paris, 1525, in translation in a language not known to da Silva." D. W. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958), p. 536.

25. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 1.

26. Richard Carnac Temple, "An Appreciation of Achievement" in Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, pp. xvi-xvii.

27. Temple, "An Appreciation of Achievement" in Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. xxiv.

28. Alan Villiers, "Ships Through the Ages: A Saga of the Sea" in *National Geographic Magazine* (April, 1963), p. 522.

29. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 75.

30. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. lv. Exploration of these southern islands and passages, notably Drake Strait, offered a potential route south of the Strait of Magellan. Drake's recognition of open sea farther south forecast the Cape Horn route discovered later.

31. R. A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 155-156.

32. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, p. 100: "Armchair geographers of the 16th century held conflicting views, derived from theoretical reasoning, from the authority of ancient writers, or from their interpretations of explorers' reports, about the relationship between the supposed Polar lands and the continents of Asia and America. By the second half of the century (Figs. 61-3) it was generally agreed that no land bridge connected north-east Asia with north-west America and that the Polar Lands were divided by sea from both continents; and debate turned on the question whether the north-east or the north-west offered the easier or more 'commodious' passage."

33. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 9.

34. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 10.

35. A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1940), p. 94.

36. E. G. R. Taylor, "The Missing Draft Project of Drake's Voyage of 1577-80" in *Geographical Journal* (January, 1930); "John Dee, "Drake and the Straits of Anian" in *Mariner's Mirror* (1929); and "More Light on Drake, 1577-1580" in *Mariner's Mirror* (1930). See the following comments by R. A. Skelton: "The first voyage promoted by the British Admiralty after the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 had similar objectives to those of Drake in the *Golden Hind* in 1577," and "Although Drake, with the private support of the Queen, envisaged his voyage as a raid against Spanish overseas power, the original and official plan pro-

vided for a search for Terra Australis in the South Pacific." *Explorers' Maps*, pp. 229, 250.

37. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, p. 102.

38. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, pp. 110-111.

39. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, p. 194. Mr. Skelton's quotations are from his transcribed notes of Francis Fletcher: British Museum, MS Sloane 61.

40. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 27.

41. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 63.

42. Penzer, *The World Encompassed*, p. 60. The passage quoted continues, "and especially that so tractable and louing a people as they shewed themselues to be, might haue meanes to haue manifested their most willing obedience the more vnto her, and by her meanes, as a mother and nurse of the Church of *Christ*, might by preaching of the Gospell, be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and euerliuing God."

43. Leon Edward Bocqueraz, "Finding of the Drake Plate" (Oakland, 1956), pp. 3-12. Typed transcript of tape-recorded interview, November 8, 1955, conducted by Willa Baum for the Regional Cultural History Project, University of California Library, Berkeley; concerning the finding of the Plate of Brass by William Caldeira (Mr. Bocqueraz' chauffeur) while they were on a hunting trip near Drakes Bay in 1933. (Copy is in the Bancroft Library.)

44. *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated: Report on the Plate of Brass by Colin G. Fink, Ph.D., D.Sc., Head of the Division of Electrochemistry, Columbia University, and E. P. Polushkin, Consulting Metallurgical Engineer* (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1938), pp. 7-25.

45. E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583* (London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1930), p. 119.

46. David Beers Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonizing Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1940), I, 53-54.

47. "Sir George Peckham's True Reporte" in Quinn, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, II, 447-448.

48. Quinn, *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*. I, 91.

49. "La Heroike Enterprinse faict par le Signeur Draeck d'avoir cirquit toute la terre," *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Round the World 1577-1588: Two Contemporary Maps* (2nd ed. London, British Museum, 1931), pp. 7-9.

50. Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, pp. lv-lvi. Mrs. Nuttall discovered a print of "La Heroike" map in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York.

51. Waters, *The Art of Navigation*, pp. 176, 177.

52. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, p. 253.

53. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, p. 256. See also, Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, editors, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612) By William Strachey, gent.* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1953), p. 31: "Virginia-Britania,

is a Countrey in America; that lyeth between the degrees of 30. and 44. of the north latitude; the Bowndes whereof, may well be thus lay'd: on the East, runneth the great-Ocean, or mayne Atlantick Sea: on the South, lyeth *Florida:* on the North, *Noua Francia:* as for the West thereof the Limitts are vnknowne, only yt is supposed there may be found the Discent into the South-Sea, by the Spaniards called *Mar del zur,* so meeting on the back-side (as yt were) of vs, . . ."

54. "The first New England did not begin at Jamestown or at Plymouth Rock, nor did it border on the Atlantic Ocean. It is claimed for Alta California and the North Pacific coast, and it dates a generation prior to the settlement of the Virginia colony, many years before the Pilgrim Fathers brought the *Mayflower* to anchor off the coast of Massachusetts. It was on a June day of 1579, thirty-seven years after Cabrillo's memorable discovery, that Drake sailed the *Golden Hind* into a 'conuenient and fit harborough,' long believed to be what is now known as Drakes Bay, some thirty miles north of the Golden Gate." Rockwell D. Hunt, *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Stockton, University of the Pacific, 1950), p. 15.

55. Roanoke owed a specific debt to Drake, in that, "Here, on Roanoke Island, in Currituck Sound, the settlers under Ralph Lane maintained themselves for a year before being repatriated in Drake's fleet." Skelton, *Explorers' Maps,* p. 253.

56. San Rafael *Independent Journal,* June 16, 1956.

57. Reference is made here to the inscription, AUXILIO DIVINO (The Hand of God), on the crest of Sir Francis Drake, at left of the hand shown drawing the *Golden Hind* around the globe.

58. *The Famous Voyage,* p. 23.

59. William Camden, *Annales. The True and Royall History of the Famous Empress Elizabeth* (London, Abraham Darcie, 1625), as quoted in Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* (San Francisco, John Howell, 1926), p. 321.

60. Theodore De Bry, *Americae, Pars VIII* (Frankfurt, 1599), translation.

61. Penzer, *The World Encompassed,* p. 50. Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations in the paragraphs that follow are from *The World Encompassed.*

62. Cf. descriptions of places on the Spanish Main used by Drake for careenage and ship repair: *Sir Francis Drake Revived: a narrative of the Nombre de Dios expedition of 1572-73* (London, Nicholas Bourne, 1626).

63. Robert F. Heizer, *Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947), p. 279.

64. "Portus" was the original harbor for ancient Rome. It was located on the right bank of the Tiber within the river's mouth.

65. "Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae Descriptio D. Franc. Draci, etc." engraved by Jodocus Hondius the Elder, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Round the World: Two Contemporary Maps.* "There are five insets on the map: . . . a picture of the *Golden Hind,* which Hondius may himself have seen at Deptford, where

she was preserved for many years. The remaining insets, in the upper corners, illustrate events of the voyage . . . that on the left the stay on the Californian coast during which Drake took possession of 'New Albion' . . . [showing the 'Portus Novae Albionis']," p. 10.

# New Books

*A Kemble Reader: Stories of California, 1846-1848.* By Edward Cleveland Kemble. Edited by Fred Blackburn Rogers. (San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1963. Special Publication No. 37. 168 pp. $10.00. To members $8.00.) Reviewed by Helen Harding Bretnor.

Edward C. Kemble, who at the age of twenty-two was called "the father of the California press" and who was generally forgotten during the half-century following his death at the age of fifty-seven, has in recent years been coming into his own as one of the great newspapermen of the early American period. His *History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858* is a classic of the history of journalism; and Colonel Rogers, in the present collection of Kemble's Californian reminiscences, shows him as a writer of considerable if slightly dated charm, whose recollections of great events are among the most vivid of eyewitness accounts.

The editorial foreword outlines his life and career from his birth at Troy, New York, on November 11, 1828, through the developments which led to his sailing around the Horn with Sam Brannan's Mormons, and the historically important events covered by the material of the text. Kemble, son of a newspaper editor and former state senator, came to journalism naturally; and the graceful account of his first paper, *The Comet*—printed from discarded type on a home-made "press" at the age of ten—is the first of the selections here. After a short residence in Illinois, the Kembles moved to New York, and, in his teens, the boy went to work as a printer on *The Prophet*, of which Brannan was editor. In this capacity, though he was a "Gentile," Kemble accompanied the Mormons to California, reaching Yerba Buena on July 31, 1846.

Colonel Rogers reprints Kemble's lively story of the voyage and landing, follows this with a series of sketches from the Sacramento *Union* entitled "Yerba Buena in 1846," full of information about the town, its personalities, and its first press and earliest imprints. Next we find "The Battle of Natividad" and "With Frémont," drawn from the *California Star* and the *Union*, dealing with the months after he had volunteered for military service. The first is a wryly sensitive account of the sad little engagement near the Salinas River; the second tells of Frémont's march south in winter, and in it Kemble makes his opinion of the Pathfinder's military abilities only too clear. Both are extremely valuable, forming, as they do, a major source for the events recounted.

The next two sections—"Yerba Buena—1847" and "San Francisco—1848"—return to the two themes of the people and papers of the period, and add a third, the story of the beginnings of the Gold Rush. They cover the time when Kemble edited the *California Star* for Brannan and, belittling the importance of the gold discovery, missed one of the greatest scoops in history. Finally, there are five of Kemble's poems from the *Star*, two appendixes (one on Sam Brannan's press, the other on the excellent Kemble Collection in the library of the California Historical Society), a bibliography, and an index.

The text does not go beyond 1848, but it does much to amplify Kemble's account of his early activities in his *History of California Newspapers.* The foreword traces the rest of his career: how he combined the *California Star* and *Californian;* how he and Edward Gilbert began the *Alta California* in 1849; how, in the spring of the same year, he started the *Placer Times,* Sacramento's first paper, only to return to San Francisco and the *Alta* shortly afterwards. It tells of Gilbert's death in his duel with Senator Denver, of Kemble's subsequent travels abroad, and of his sale of the *Alta* in 1855, after its financial troubles. After that he lectured and published on California in the East, returned briefly on the staff of the *California Chronicle,* and in 1858 joined the Sacramento *Union* as assistant editor; that was when he wrote and published his *History.* During the Civil War, he served as an officer in the Union Army, and later he became an Inspector of Indian Affairs, and then worked for the Associated Press and acted as correspondent for several California newspapers. He died on February 10, 1886, at Mott Haven, New York, still considering himself a citizen of California.

Three of these articles were reprinted in a very small edition by Douglas S. Watson in 1935, and portions have been quoted or used as sources, but this is the first time they have been gathered in one volume. It is a handsome book, well designed by Howell-North of Berkeley. The editor needs no introduction to members of the California Historical Society: Colonel Rogers is a specialist in the period of the California Conquest and has written or edited many volumes and articles on the subject. His preface is brief and to the point, with some new material on Kemble's childhood in Illinois. Among illustrative material are reproductions of the "Extra in Advance of the California Star" and the program on satin of Stockton's reception, not otherwise available to the public. Annotations are bracketed in the text, where they furnish convenient explanations without interrupting the pleasure of the reading.

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Mrs. Helen Harding Bretnor, a well-known member of the staff at the Bancroft Library, has recently edited Edward Kemble's *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858.*

*Military Governments in California, 1846-1850.* By Theodore Grivas. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963. 247 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Theodore Grivas' highly interesting and sound *Military Governments in California, 1846-1850,* studies a difficult and neglected aspect of the state's history. Although historians have exhaustively treated other phases of this very important period—North American imperialism, military conquest, the gold rush, and the Americanization of the province—the occupation governments have been investigated only in a peripheral manner. Consequently, judgments and opinions regarding the true nature of these administrations (whether they were truly military, or whether they were basically civilian) have been both confusing and inconclusive, if not at times contradictory. Professor Grivas' study has definitely answered this essential question: occupation governments were military in nature; and military rule, not civilian, prevailed throughout the period.

Dr. Grivas', however, investigates much more than just the nature of the occupation governments. Devoting the major portion of his monograph to the problems and the record of the military and to the alcalde rule during the period, he arrives at some revealing conclusions—conclusions which some of the more liberal historians may not relish. Thus, the author concludes and demonstrates that the military in California, despite the brash words and actions of Commodore Stockton and the later opposition of the Anglo-American civilians, served the United States well: "The province was occupied and held; lawlessness and disorder were kept to minimum; and self-supporting government was organized and maintained." Insofar as the alcalde system is concerned, Professor Grivas states and shows that "Alcalde rule in California answered the need for local justice and government... in the frenzy of the gold rush during the American military government" and that American residents opposed it because they "could neither understand nor accept the wide powers granted to this magistrate."

Professor Grivas' findings are based on extensive and solid research in manuscripts found in national and California archives and libraries. In addition to examining original and microfilm copies of contemporary newspapers, government documents, correspondence, and journals, he judiciously scrutinized the secondary materials—books, articles, theses and dissertations—relating to his topic. He was thus able to give his study not only depth but also breadth.

This monograph is a valuable contribution. It is well researched, logically developed, and objectively written. It is, furthermore, extremely readable—a quality not always found in scholarly historical monographs.

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MANUEL P. SERVÍN is the editor of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*.

*First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California.* A Selection of Letters edited by John A. Hawgood. (The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 1962. 123 pp. $5.00.) Reviewed by Werner H. Marti.

Thomas O. Larkin was the first and last United States consul in California during the brief, troubled, and turbulent years before and during the Mexican War, which resulted in the conquest of the Mexican province for the United States. Professor Hawgood tells us that Larkin, before becoming consul in 1844, was already a prosperous and respected businessmen in the province having, after his arrival in 1832, quickly found his niche as merchant and trader. Since Monterey was the center of government for the north, as well as the main port of California, representatives of foreign mercantile houses headquartered there. Larkin came to know these men intimately as well as the most prominent Californians in the region. His business interests were so varied and extensive that he became acquainted with prominent businessmen and government officials throughout the entire province, one being Abel Stearns, the well known Angeleño merchant, who looked after business matters for Larkin in the south on numerous occasions.

Immediately before the conquest of California, Larkin, acting as both a United States citizen and as an official, worked diligently on behalf of his government's interest in trying to bring about a peaceful annexation of the province to the United States. His efforts were thwarted by the Bear Flag Revolt, the arrival of Commander John D. Sloat, and the aggressive occupation of the province by the Navy under Commodore Robert F. Stockton. Professor Hawgood concludes that had these events not intervened, Larkin's efforts for a peaceful settlement would have been successful and much subsequent bitterness avoided—a view which is not shared by all students of the period. This reviewer would also question his conclusion as there is substantial evidence to indicate that prominent Californians were working at cross purposes with significant numbers promoting the cause of France and England as well as of the United States.

During the gold rush period Larkin continued to prosper financially, but his role in public life correspondingly declined. His last important contribution to posterity was his compilation of nearly three hundred names of American and British nationals residing in the province before 1840, with their place of origin, occupation, and present location. This list is included as an appendix in the volume.

The book prepared by Professor Hawgood is not a biography of Larkin but a collection of his letters found in the Huntington Library, and not in the Larkin Papers at the Bancroft Library. The Larkin Papers are presently being published under the editorship of Dr. George Hammond, director of the Bancroft Library. Professor Hawgood planned this volume as a supplement to Hammond's work. He has done an excellent job in editing the letters with exceptionally fine explanatory notes. What makes the book valuable to the scholar and general reader of Californiana are the lively, well written, and succinct essays on the different periods of Larkin's life along with the notations. These notations reveal the meticulous research done by the author and his extensive knowledge of the period.

Professor Hawgood is to be congratulated on his fine work.

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WERNER H. MARTI, an associate professor of history at the California State Polytechnic College at Pomona, is author of *Messenger of Destiny: The California Adventures, 1846-1847, of Archibald H. Gillespie, U.S. Marine Corps.*

*Independent Historical Societies—An enquiry into their research and publication functions and their financial future.* By Walter Muir Whitehill. (The Boston Athenaeum, 1962. 593 pp. $12.50. Distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

Under a grant from a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, Walter Muir Whitehill—director and librarian since 1946 of the Boston Athenaenum—spent nine pleasant and profitable months visiting the country's historical societies and institutions of allied interest. The results of his travels are displayed in this plump volume, full of important facts and diverting data.

Even in the most unregenerate areas of the United States this traveler found persons who cultivate the arts, enjoy good food and drink, and cherish an ability to distinguish their own county from the neighboring one. Most of these persons were connected with historical societies, libraries, or the history departments of universities. A hefty chore was Mr. Whitehill's, and he has performed it with such distinction that his book is much more than a contribution to the literature of the independent American historical society. He covers state-supported societies, touches upon local historical groups, historical museums, and great libraries, even those accumulated by American Presidents.

The first ten chapters are concerned with the leading independent historical groups, starting off with the Massachusetts Historical Society formed in Boston in 1790. The research library of this society today finds its greatest riches in its manuscripts, though it has outstanding collections of early New England imprints. The New York Historical Society got its start in 1804. It is supported entirely from private gifts and bequests, is extremely fortunate in the size of its endowment and in the amount of it that is unrestricted. It can offer to scholars its accumulation of fifty thousand books and its immense collection of manuscript, printed, photographic, and portrait material.

In most readable fashion the author discusses the history, the problems—usually financial—the accomplishments, and the possessions of the major independent historical societies of the Atlantic Seaboard, those of the middle eastern, southeastern, and middle western states, culminating with those of California and Hawaii. Thereupon he devotes himself to state-supported historical societies, presenting the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as the prototype. Each group has its primary interest, that of the Ohio Historical Society being its fifteen outstanding prehistoric Indian sites, while the Historical Society of Montana is enthusiastic over its galleries devoted to the work of Montana cowboy artist Charles M. Russell. The local historical societies throughout the nation owe their origin, Whitehill points out, to the interest and devotion of people on the spot who genuinely care for the characteristics of their region. In the local classification he touches knowledgeably on the Santa Barbara and San Diego societies. The holdings of great universities and of public and private libraries in the United States are discussed under an approprite title—"A Cloud of Witnesses." Included are the immense treasures—and the publishing program—of the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

Mr. Whitehill lightens his chore with abundant humor. The American Antiquarian Society, he notes, in 1816 unfortunately accepted a "dessicated mummy" that had been unearthed in Kentucky. Not till late in the 1870's was the society able to get rid of it—by gift to the Smithsonian Institution. The Vermont Historical Society shows in its museum the stuffed skin of the last panther killed in the state, which illustrates the fact that all museums and historical societies go through an early phase when they can't say "no." The author notes a disease he calls "togetherness" which seems to afflict some of the museums which emphasize "YOUR Museum" and statistics on "growth" and "progress," using the methods of breakfast-food salesmen in appealing for attendance and support. Presidential libraries, he comments, like the Roosevelt and the Truman, show two faces: a research area for scholars and another area for "gifts, junk, and gadgets."

The members of the California Historical Society will appreciate being called a "lively and imaginative organization" and the space devoted to its history, the energy of its official staff, its possessions, and its activities. Its *Quarterly* is described as the "most pleasing to the eye" of all journals issued by state historical groups and with contents that seldom lapse into "antiquarianism." Its publication record, Mr. Whitehill says, is "remarkably distinguished for an organization that has had to pay as it went." The beginning of an endowment fund is credited to the efforts of George L. Harding. president from 1958 to 1960. Along with the *romerías*, which are mentioned, the author might well have called attention to the society's unique wine-tastings, held both in the San Francisco and the Los Angeles areas, and its adequate patronage of the state's champagne-makers at most of its formal social occasions.

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W. W. ROBINSON, a fellow and a trustee of the California Historical Society and a director of the Historical Society of Southern California, is a foremost authority on local history.

*Occidental College: The First Seventy-Five Years, 1887-1962.* By Andrew F. Rolle. (Los Angeles, Anderson, Ritchie & Simon, 1962. 191 pp. $5.50.) Reviewed by Paul E. Hadley.

The history of a college has as its first purpose the awakening of filial nostalgia among the alumni, the review of things familiar, the recall of campus heroes. For this alumnus, Andrew F. Rolle's *Occidental College: The First Seventy-Five Years* attains its primary goal. It is good to record, moreover, that the little volume transcends the parochial function: it is a valid piece of historical writing. Professor Rolle's perspective includes a praiseworthy understanding of the relationship of the college with both the lay and the scholarly communities. He makes a useful contribution to the story of the southern California region.

The chronology of the book begins with the uncertain founding of Occidental College in 1887 as an almost unnoticed factor in the early development of metropolitan Los Angeles. Hampered by natural disasters, lack of finances, and perhaps by too close a dependence upon the Victorian Presbyterian Church, the college seemed to find its first dynamic growth under the leadership of President John Willis Baer in 1906. This was also a period of vigorous secularization which by the beginning of World War I had given the institution both financial and academic stability, while preserving a healthy relationship with the parent church.

Dr. Rolle's writing is particularly effective in his analysis of the problems of the college confronted by the traumas of the two World Wars and the Great Depression. In these sections he moves beyond the campus confines and presents Occidental as something of a sample of American society facing major challenges. Credit is given to President Remsen D. Bird as well as to faculty and student leaders for their stubborn defense of academic liberalism in times of crisis, even against a conservative and disturbed community. President Bird seems to have exhibited his liberal tendencies within the college as well as towards the outside world. "We believe," he said, "that students are for the most part mature persons and that any attempt to force their opinions in certain grooves defeats the fundamentally desired end."

The author has also written well in treating the contemporary administration of President Arthur G. Coons, who, he says, "has led Occidental into its greatest era of financial and academic stability and confidence." And, further, "Coons' vigor and dynamism was constructive in tone. He was not an extremist. He possessed a knack for presenting both the liberal and conservative viewpoint and was not intimidated by radicals of either the left or right."

President Coons' leadership has brought the college into constructive relationship with the southern California community through several kinds of sponsored research. A Rockefeller grant over a ten-year period led to useful studies of the American Southwest. A research venture in cooperation with the national Council for Economic Development has focused attention upon the economic and social problems of an expanding region. Originally financed by the Haynes Foundation, the Department of Sociology has established a Laboratory in Urban Culture which has made important studies of ethnic groups in the Los Angeles area.

Professor Rolle stresses the awarness of the Coons administration lest community research subvert the main purpose of an educational institution. The college, he writes, "is not academically embarrassed by a series of peripheral appendages of uncertain relationship to its intellectual commitments. In other words, Occidental has not embarked upon programs internally incompatible with the liberal arts tradition." Contemporary Occidental has devoted major attention to student programs: its History of Civilization sequence, its Honors courses, new emphases in the sciences, the humanities, and social studies.

As suggested in this review, Dr. Rolle's work is at its best in dealing with the broad social and intellectual achievements of Occidental College. Inevitably, then, his volume is less interesting in its catalogs of extracurricular, social, and athletic events. Fraternities and sororities receive scant attention. Student leadership in these fields is, however, recognized intermittently throughout the volume and in the appendix, where there are tables of captains, presidents, *et al.*

The author frequently acknowledges his dependence upon an earlier historian, former Vice-President and Dean, Robert G. Cleland, whose volume, *The History of Occidental College,* was published in 1937 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the institution. Rolle's style is more straightforward than that of his predecessor. His writing is less rhetorical, less consciously literary, less involved with the emotions and inspirations of the campus, perhaps more suited to the mood of our day. Occidental is fortunate to have had two historians who have treated its record in a contrasting yet complementary way.

The volume is beautifully printed by Anderson, Ritchie & Simon and effectively illustrated by many photographs which are much better than the usual quality of archival prints.

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Paul E. Hadley, dean of the Summer Session and associate professor of international relations at the University of Southern California, received his A.B. in German from Occidental College in 1934.

*New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries.* By Warren Beck. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 363 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by W. Eugene Hollon.

New Mexico has been the subject and locale of thousands of books, ranging from Spanish chronicles to Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County Wars. At least five hundred books alone have been written on the latter subjects. In addition, the state has produced several distinguished writers, especially in the field of fiction, better than average poets, and some very competent historians. For too long its local history, however, has been written by antiquarians or professional writers who have emphasized the bizarre and dramatic events. Meanwhile, the serious scholar has had to depend upon Bancroft's work, which ends at 1888, or Twitchell's multivolume history that carries the story to 1917, for general information.

A comprehensive, single-volume history of the state, therefore has long been overdue: especially a book that includes the modern period of political and industrial developments. Perhaps politics have been glossed over because of their turbulence and the fact that so many descendants of controversial political figures are still living in the state. The industrial developments on the other hand are so recent that secondary materials are scarce, except for popular magazines and chamber of commerce brochures.

Mr. Beck has attempted to meet this long felt need. The job has not been an easy one, for New Mexico is a land of three races and its history spans more than four centuries. He has followed traditional lines in his approach and covered the geography, the Spanish *conquistadores,* Indians, Mexicans, Gringos, the conquest, mining, stock raising, transportation, industrialization, political developments, and urbanization. Unfortunately, the great industrial and urban developments that have swept New Mexico into the mid-twentieth century have been treated rather lightly. The treatment of the Indian question and politics likewise leaves something to be desired.

It is easy to find picayunish errors and typographical mistakes in the first edition of any book. Such comments add little to a review and often reflect more upon the reviewer than the author. Nevertheless, this reviewer would like to mention two or three minor points. On page 258 the author states that there were approximately five million head of cattle roaming the plains of Texas at the end of the Civil War. Most estimates are closer to half a million head. A little further he implies that the cattle drive virtually ended in 1880. Though statistics on the cattle industry for this period are unreliable, evidence is pretty overwhelming that each year between 1880 and 1885 broke a record over the previous one in the number of Texas steers driven beyond tha state's borders.

The author has used the standard sources, along with some valuable unpublished materials. His work represents one of the better state histories published in recent years by the University of Oklahoma Press. It should prove valuable to teachers and students, as well as the general reader interested in Southwestern history.

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W. Eugene Hollon, professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, is an authority on Southwestern history. Dr. Hollon is the author of *The Southwest: Old and New; William Bollaert's Texas; Beyond the Cross Timbers; The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy;* and of *The Lost Pathfinder, Zebulon Montgomery Pike.*

*The Pious Fund.* By Kenneth M. Johnson. (Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963. 80 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Alberto Francisco Pradeau.

It is quite noteworthy that this small treatise covers briefly but thoroughly such a famous case, the third in the series of Famous California Trials undertaken by the editors.

The work is well planned and executed adhering to the four points outlined in the introduction and scrupulously following the desire of the author to present in a satisfactory manner the complete story of the Pious Fund. It ought to be received with acclaim by all students of California history.

The book, beautifully printed, which is divided into seven chapters followed by a most complete bibliography and a section of notes, takes up the creation of the fund, its intent, the administration of it (under various religious orders) by the Spanish and Mexican authorities, and the final nationalization of it under Santa Anna's regime. The period of inactivity and the relentless pursuit of the historical background by the pivotal figure, John T. Doyle—whose photograph and biography are given in detail—enhances the historical value of the monograph. Truly, the author does not exaggerate when he states that "seldom have a man and a cause been so closely connected."

An interesting feature is the reproduction of a letter from Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa to Father Junípero Serra, which accurately translated, relates the second expedition to Monterey by Captain Juan Bautista Anza and the allocation to him of a sum of money from the fund.

All in all, Mr. Johnson's treatise is a valuable contribution to the history of the Pious Fund and of California.

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Alberto Francisco Pradeau, a graduate of the Dental School of the University of Southern California, is an authority on colonial Mexican Jesuit history and on Mexican numismatics. Dr. Pradeau is the author of *La Expulsión de los Jesuitas de las Provincias de Sonora, Ostimuri, y Sinaloa; Don Antonio de Mendoza y la Casa de la Moneda de México en 1545; The Mexican Mint of Alamos and Hermosillo; Numismatic History of Mexico from the Pre-Columbian Epoch to 1823;* and of the four-volume *Numismatic History of Mexico from 1823 to 1950.*

# Book Notices

*By* ANNA MARIE and EVERETT HAGER

*Covered Bridges of the West: A History and Illustrated Guide Covering Washington, Oregon, and California* (Berkeley, Howell-North, 1963. 150 pp. $5.95), by Kramer A. Adams, is a beautifully arranged pictorial history of some of the disappearing landmarks of the Far West, the western covered bridges. Although more than one thousand such bridges were built west of the Rockies, only 120 now remain. Mr. Adam's splendid study depicts their charm and nostalgic picturesqueness in 201 photographs.

A series of westernized fictional accounts covering a variety of topic and location will be found in Clifton Adams' *The Dangerous Days of Kiowa Jones* (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963. 192 pp. $2.95), in Giles A. Lutz' *The Golden Land* (228 pp. $3.50), and in Charles Thomas' *Comanche Belle* (192 pp. $2.95) – all bearing the Double D Brand.

Under its annual manuscript competition, the American Association for State and Local History sponsored Gordon B. Dodds' *The Salmon King of Oregon: R. D. Hume and the Pacific Fisheries* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 258 pp. $6.00). A biographical study of Robert Deniston Hume, it covers the economic development of the salmon-canning industry of the Pacific Northwest with particular emphasis on the Rogue River frontier of southwestern Oregon.

*Sketches and Paintings from Mexico by Duncan Gleason,* with commentaries by Dorothy Gleason (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1963. 42 pp. $10.00), is a charming, well illustrated (twenty plates) diary-journal of a sketching tour through Mexico by automobile in 1947.

*California's Gabrielino Indians,* by Bernice Eastman Johnston ( Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, Highland Park, 1962. 208 pp. $3.75 paper, $5.00 cloth), embellished with twenty-eight illustrations and two maps, is a compilation of all that is known of this extinct people. Reviewing the archaeological findings concerning their habitat and burial grounds, the monograph fully describes the life, customs, religious beliefs, ceremonies, and handicraft of the Gabrielinos. Mrs. Johnston's work has been designated Volume VIII of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publications and is dedicated to John Peabody Harrington, noted ethnologist and archeologist.

For those intrigued by the route taken to reach the top of the list of wealthiest persons in these United States, the story behind, *My Life and Fortunes,* by J. Paul Getty (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1963. 300 pp. $5.95), will prove rewarding. Days of early wildcatting in Oklahoma, the development of the Tidewater Oil Company, the formation of interlocking petroleum companies, and the expansion of Middle Eastern oil fields are well presented.

D. Alexander Brown has researched and prepared a rich piece of Far Western frontier materials, *The Galvanized Yankees* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press,

1963. 244 pp. $5.50). The forgotten and uniquely intriguing history of the recruitment of six regiments of Confederate soldiers from the northern prisoner of war camps to fight in the Indian country has been superbly presented. These *Galvanized Yankees* fought Indians, guarded surveying parties, escorted supply trains along the Oregon and Santa Fe trails, rebuilt hundreds of miles of telegraph lines, and manned frontier forts.

*The North American Indians,* written and illustrated by Ernest Berke (Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963. 64 pp. $3.75), although intended for children, will please adult audiences with the handsome paintings in color.

A welcome revised edition of Horace Parker's *Anza-Borrego Desert Guide Book: Southern California's Last Frontier* (Balboa Island, Paisano Press, Inc., 1963. 144 pp. $2.95) emphasizes Parker's unusual approach and empathy for this entrancing portion of the great Colorado Desert. Spiral binding, well illustrated, and indexed, it is the correct size for glove compartment or knapsack.

A miniature 1½" x 2" book, but much in evidence, is the volume entitled *Captain Jack, Being the Reminiscences of a Sea-Going Bookseller,* by John Friend (Long Beach, The Seahorse Press, 1963. 32 pp. $5.00). Available from Dawson's Book Shop, printed by William H. Cheney, and bound in leather by Bela Blau, it is a delightful item for the collector of sea-going yarns or for the bibliophile.

San Diego from 1903 to 1962, as viewed in the lifetime of Oscar W. Cotton, will be found in *The Good Old Days* (New York, Exposition Press, 1962. 346 pp. $4.75). Early vaudeville days in Los Angeles and San Diego, real estate booms, and chatty, homely insights of the growth of the Cotton family are included.

Few words can be added regarding the 1932 San Francisco edition of Herbert E. Bolton's masterly *The Padre on Horseback.* Attention, however, should be directed to John Francis Bannon's superb introduction which now graces the facsimile reprint published by Loyola University of Chicago in its series, The American West.

Nostalgic flavor of a residential district of Los Angeles has been brought to light in *The Bunker Hill Story,* by Pat Adler (Glendale, La Siesta Press, 1963. 36 pp. $1.00). Containing illustrations, full page maps, and an index, this is a chronicle of the reigning architectural elegance of an earlier day of a well known Los Angeles area.

Kenneth Lamott's *Who Killed Mr. Crittenden?* (New York, David McKay Company, 1963. 306 pp. $4.95) retraces, in fictional fashion, a notorious murder case which involved Laura D. Fair and captured the attention of San Franciscans of the 1870's.

C. E. (Ted) Parker and his wife Marilyn have prepared a very worthwhile brochure covering *Orange County: Indians to Industry* (Santa Ana, California, First American Title Insurance and Trust Company, 1963. 96 pp. $1.00). A remarkably good piece of research, and a fine collection of historic photographs, it spans the development of Orange County, California.

# Book of Remembrance

1963

Clark Lorenzo Abbott, M.D.
Lucy Helen Allyne
Josephine McLaughlin Ast
Leavitt Baker
Louise H. Bancroft
John Franklin Barnard
Helen Heath Blatchly
Jean MacGregor Boyd
Clarascott Goodloe Bruce
Edward Wheatley Bullard
Emile Jean Cardinal
Thomas Franklin Chace
Eva D. Clamer
Joseph Clement
Oscar Cooper
Edith Margaret Coulter
George Magee Cunningham
George A. Davidson
Hubert V. Dieden
Effa Eversole Digby
Charlotte Du Frane
George Alexander Du Frane
Edgar Wallace Dutton
William Jefferson Elliott
Kenneth Loveland Ferguson
Nelda Fisher
Timothy Ignatius Fitzpatrick
Herman K. Fox
Valeria Furlong
Chester F. Gannon
Adeline Howard Gilchrist
Francis Porter Graves
David Griffin
Schuyler Van Rensselaer Gros
Edward F. Halbert
Madeline Hampton
Benjamin M. M. Hartshorne
Frances S. Hastings
Seth Heney
Pearl Owsley Huggins
Florence Katz
Bruce Kelham
Anthony J. Kennedy
Edward Kennedy
President John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Louise D. Kleinsorge
W. E. Kleinsorge
Harry Raymond Kispert
Lillian Hall Larson
Leland Stanford Lathrop
Edith Elizabeth Leale
Henry Tod Lilienkrantz
Enid Turner Lisser
Ruth Livingston
Edward Dean Lyman
Roscoe W. Maples
Charles O. Martin
Orris Martin
Tulita Wilcox Miner
William H. Moffat
Malcolm W. Moss
A. Stanwood Murphy
Edith Larkey Needham
Sylvia A. Newkirk
Harry E. Newkom
Elizabeth Oakley
Lucile E. Otto
Charles R. Page
Dorcas Evelyn Papini
Nelson J. Paterson
I. M. Peckham
Pierre J. Picherie
William P. Roth
Claire Zellerbach Saroni
Alice Scott Smith
William Henry Smith
David Ellington Snodgrass
Norman R. Sutherland
Alfred B. Swinerton
Charles Hubbard Thurman
Alice Larkin Toulmin
Catherine Valvo
William S. Wells
Hedwig Winkler
Veta Swift Wolcott
Henry Allyn Wood
Lottie Gertrude Woods
Reine L. Yehl

### 1964

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John F. Brady
Walter D. Brown
Mildred Campbell
Oscar Cooper
Harry Innes Thornton Creswell
Eliza Paulina Maria Ygnacia Clara Elizalde Curletti
Mabel C. Edgar
Allan Deane Glendenning
Elise Wenzelburger Graupner
Agnes Du Frane Gunther
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Margaret Wilson Harwood
Clinton Monroe Hess
Barrett G. Hindes
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Ruth Turner MacKenzie
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Lawrence R. Moore
Sara Maude Robinson Mott
Francis J. O'Shaughnessy
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SAN QUENTIN
California State Prison

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Sutter Creek
Methodist Episcopal Church

Syracuse, New York
Syracuse University

Washington, Pennsylvania
Raymond Martin Bell

# HISTORIES OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

## OAKLAND TRIBUNE

Since February 21, 1874, the *Oakland Tribune* has been serving the great and growing Metropolitan Oakland Area. It was first printed in 4 book-size pages and distributed free of charge to homes and businesses.

From the print shop at 468 Ninth Street, the history of *Tribune* growth began. On June 1, 1874, the *Tribune* doubled its size. It was distributed free until mid-July when the subscription price was set at 5 cents per week.

On July 24, 1876, William E. Dargie took sole ownership and remained in control until his death in February, 1911. Executors of Mr. Dargie's estate managed the paper until 1915.

On November 4, 1915, Mr. Joseph R. Knowland became president and publisher and wrote in an editorial: "It is perfectly understood that what it does rather than what it promises will determine the full measure of its worth." This statement of purpose has been carried out through the years by the *Tribune's* interest in civic and community service.

Today, 89 years later, the *Oakland Tribune* has the largest home delivered circulation in Northern California. The very latest ideas and equipment are used to produce over 200,000 daily and Sunday copies of the *Tribune.*

## J. FOLGER & COMPANY

On May 5, 1850, James A. Folger, then 14 years old, arrived in San Francisco from Nantucket, Massachusetts. He became an employee of William H. Bovee, who needed a carpenter to help erect a spice-and-coffee mill. In time he became a combined clerk and salseman.

After working in San Francisco for about a year, Jim Folger went into the gold fields. He carried along not only a pick and shovel and pan, but a trunk filled with samples of coffee and spices to take orders from stores in the mining country. Around a flat known as Yankee Jim's he decided to open his own store.

In 1853 Jim Folger returned to San Francisco and invested in Bovee's coffee firm. At 24 years old he was full partner in a thriving business. In the seventies and eighties both San Francisco and the J. A. Folger Company were attaining maturity. Salesmen from Folger's traveled throughout the West, selling coffee, teas, spices, baking powder, and extracts.

In early June, 1889, at the age of 54, James A. Folger suddenly died. James A. Folger, II, already experienced at the age of 26, was ready to step into his father's shoes as president of the company. In the 111 years a Folger has continuously guided this famous coffee company.

## BANK OF AMERICA

The history of Bank of America, N.T. & S.A., began on October 17, 1904, when a small neighborhood bank opened for business in a remodeled tavern in San Francisco.

The man behind the new bank was a big man with a big idea: Amadeo Peter Giannini, tall, muscular, thirty-four, California-born son of immigrant parents. The idea: to offer to the wage earners and small businesses banking services traditionally reserved for wealthy individuals and large companies.

By the end of 1905, the little bank that had opened with $150,000 capital was showing deposits of $703,024 and resources in excess of $1,000,000.

When disaster struck in 1906, Giannini loaded $80,000 cash into wagons and moved it to San Mateo. He dispensed loans from a plank-and-barrel counter at the waterfront. As the new San Francisco rose, the young bank grew and prospered. In 1907 a branch bank was opened in San Francisco; in 1909 the first out-of-town branch was opened in San Jose.

The small corner bank which opened its doors with 28 accounts in 1904 is now banker to the nation's largest industrial and business firms. As of December 31, 1962, there were 819 branches and 26,700 employees throughout California. Resources stood at $13,417,140,809; deposits at $12,095,965,067; and loans outstanding at $7,587,992,697.

## PARROTT & CO.

In 1855 John Parrott established the pioneer firm of Parrott & Co. in San Francisco, with W. B. Comstock as his partner, in order to handle the gold from the Sierras. The firm was sold in 1870.

Prior to the establishment of Parrott & Co., John Parrott and W. F. Babcock had joined the firm of Alsop & Co. In 1870 when the original firm was sold, the name of Alsop was changed to Parrott & Co. Thus began the modern history of Parrott & Co. in its pioneer role of commission merchant, factor, and broker.

One commodity that the firm had handled uninterruptedly in the past 100 years is sugar. With the exception of several Chinese firms, Parrott & Co. was the first importer of rice to San Francisco. It also has the distinction of being the first importer of green coffee on the Pacific Coast.

Over the years the firm established a food brokerage business, taking on a diversity of products. Shortly after 1932 it entered the liquor business, becoming agents for fine-quality cognac and Scotch whisky.

Parrott & Co. now stands on the threshold of its second century of service to the West. The firm is not relinquishing its baton of leadership.

## ALBERT BROWN MORTUARY

About the year 1855, two brothers—the Gurnetts—arrived in Oakland from Michigan to set up a small furniture repairing and finishing shop at Fifth and Franklin streets.

Within the first week of their opening, a citizen sought their attendance on a deceased relative. (Furniture and undertaking were virtually synonymous in Eastern cities.) The Gurnetts obliged and continued to accept undertaking, even to setting up a mill shop for the sole purpose of fashioning coffins.

In the middle 1860's the Gurnetts sold out to William Helmer, coroner of Alameda County. Later Helmer took in William Hamilton as a partner, who eventually succeeded Helmer as coroner.

Hamilton, burdened with official duties, sought out Albert Brown from Denver. On November 4, 1873, the firm of Hamilton & Brown was organized. In February, 1881, when Hamilton withdrew, Albert Brown became the sole owner, until his death in 1909.

A group of Oakland businessmen took over this firm in 1925, with William Nat Friend as president. In 1933 Franklin Van Fleet assumed the title, with R. C. H. Martin as vice-president.

On November 4, 1963, this firm has borne the honored name of Albert Brown for 90 years. It is indisputedly recognized as the oldest continuously operated business in the city of Oakland.

## TUBBS CORDAGE COMPANY

San Francisco, 1849-1850 "Gold Rush City," was turbulent, exciting and rowdy. That was the setting Alfred L. Tubbs found when he arrived to establish a ship chandlery and rope business. He entered partnership with Captain William Folger. Upon the arrival in 1853 of Hiram Tubbs, his brother, the firm became Tubbs & Company. Among the new activities were the whaling expeditions, which were outfitted between 1853-1860. Tubbs & Company stayed in the whaling as long as the price of whale oil remained profitable.

As soon as the price of whale oil declined, they turned their attention to their main interest—rope and rope making. Tubbs has been supplying high quality rope to much of the world for over 110 years.

As early as 1853 the Tubbs Brothers' desire was to establish their own rope mill. Rope manufacturing meant that a good steady source for hemp was forthcoming. The Philippine Islands were such a source, and Manila hemp became and has remained the mainstay for the firm's hemp needs. East Africa today has become the company's most important source of sisal, followed by Brazil and Central America.

The corporate name of Tubbs Cordage Company dates from 1889, and has not been changed from that time.

## O'MELVENY & MYERS

The law firm of O'Melveny & Myers was founded in 1885 by Jackson A. Graves and Henry W. O'Melveny. Under various names, but always including the name of O'Melveny, it has continued in practice until the present time.

In 1927 the firm was joined by Louis W. Myers, former chief justice of the Supreme Court of California, and the name became O'Melveny, Tuller & Myers. In 1939 it was changed to O'Melveny & Myers and still bears that name.

When Graves and O'Melveny began their practice the population of Los Angeles was about 12,000. The law offices were in the Baker Block, 248 North Main Street. The firm had no clerks, stenographers or other assistants, and no telephone.

At the present time there are 86 lawyers associated with the firm. Thirty-three are partners, 2 former partners are Of Counsel, and there are 53 lawyers on the legal staff. In addition there are 143 nonlegal personnel employed by the firm, making a total of 229 people in the organization.

The main office is at 433 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, and there is a branch office in Beverly Hills which is maintained largely to handle the legal work of the entertainment industry.

## N. GRAY & CO.

The firm of N. Gray & Co. was founded in the summer of 1850 by Nathaniel Gray, from whom the firm gets its name.

In 1848 Nathaniel Gray and his family, consisting of his wife and five children, were living in New York where he was a partner in an undertaking firm. He arrived in San Francisco in January, 1850, to establish a branch of the business.

He purchased the business of an established undertaker. His business prospered, and he moved first to Sacramento Street near DuPont, then to Sacramento and Webb streets, where they remained for 46 years.

Nathaniel Gray died in 1889, and his son-in-law Cyrus S. Wright succeeded the founder in carrying on the firm. Cyrus Wright was succeeded by his son Harold L. Wright who further expanded the business. In July of 1947 the Crosby-N. Gray & Co. Mortuary was completed in Burlingame, California.

Following the death of Harold Wright in September, 1949, Kendrick W. Miller, a nephew and a great-grandson of the firm's founder, became president.

With the development of residential areas west of Twin Peaks, the property at Nineteenth and Sargent streets was purchased, and a complete funeral establishment was built in 1956. This is recognized as one of the most beautiful in the West.

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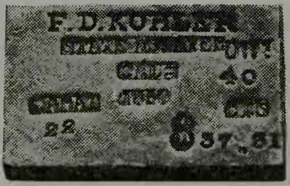

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# Social Science in the Central Valley of California

## *An Episode*

*By* RICHARD S. KIRKENDALL

A SOCIAL SCIENTIST employed by the government frequently finds himself in the midst of a political battle, the object of harsh criticism by some groups and warm praise by others. All of this results chiefly from the large role of values in his work. People with a point of view that conflicts with his own treat him in a rough fashion, while other groups who evaluate the situation as he does see him as an ally. And, try as he might to escape by assuming a neutral pose and insisting that as a scientist he is above the battle, the conflicting groups bar the door. His values determine his relations with other people, draw him into the fight and keep him there. At least, generalizations such as these are supported by one episode in the history of the application of the social sciences to American politics.

In this story, which centered in the Central Valley of California, the values of two sides of the agricultural tradition figured prominently.[1] Some participants in the battle exalted the small farmer, viewing him as, among other things, the backbone of democracy.[2] Other Californians looked upon farming as essentially a part of the business system

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to the American Philosophical Society and the Research Council of the University of Missouri for grants and a fellowship that made possible extended research, of which this study is one product. Professor Kirkendall is grateful also for the critical attention given to this manuscript by Lewis Atherton, Allen Davis, and Walter Scholes of Missouri's Department of History.

that should reward the farmer as other businessmen were rewarded.[3] In this context, social scientists in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), a branch of the Department of Agriculture, tested an assumption of American agrarianism that was involved in the "acreage limitation" principle of National Reclamation Law. According to the assumption, small, family-size farms produce better communities than large farms do.[4] The test angered powerful groups who feared that farming as a business would be harmed by efforts to impose the limitation principle upon the Central Valley. On the other hand, champions of the principle and critics of California's large farmers greeted the project enthusiastically and frustrated those members of the BAE who tried to protect their agency by removing it from controversy. Of crucial significance in the episode were the facts that the social scientists who conducted the test were influenced more by the democratic than the business side of the farm tradition and reached conclusions that favored application of the principle.

The research was designed to help the government decide if the principle of acreage limitation in federal law should be applied to the giant reclamation project in California's Central Valley. The principle had grown out of the American agrarian tradition, had been involved in the federal reclamation program since the days of Theodore Roosevelt, and required that no landowner could receive for an unlimited period more of the subsidized water from a federal project than was needed to irrigate 160 acres. Hoping to preserve the principle, the Bureau of Reclamation called upon the BAE to see if it should be applied in California.[5] The social scientists in the Department of Agriculture responded eagerly to this chance to provide some guidance in the development of an irrigation project.[6]

Marion Clawson, an economist with years of experience in the BAE, was placed in charge of the investigation in the summer of 1942. Because of his special interest in farm management, he quickly designed a study to explore the relations between efficiency and size of farms. Efficiency, however, did not strike him as the only factor that should be considered, and so he was soon asking if there were "any tangible evidences . . . of different social structures and social values that can be attributed to differences in size of farms or in size of land holdings."[7] This question opened the door to sociologists and anthropologists.

To answer the question, Clawson decided that a study should be made of two communities in the valley. Paul Taylor, an economist at the University of California with strong interests in the agricultural laborer and the family farmer, helped to plan the study, and Carl Taylor, the head of the BAE's Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, and other sociologists in that division, also contributed. Carl Taylor had promoted community studies for over twenty years, and the members of his division hoped that the study in the Central Valley could contribute to the development of rural sociology as well as the solution of the policy question in the valley.[8]

By early 1944 the social scientists had devised a project that would employ well-established techniques of community studies to test the assumption that family-size farms produce more desirable communities than large farms do.[9] The group believed that a study of two California towns similar in all physical characteristics except prevailing size of land-holdings would reveal the consequences for the general welfare of that characteristic and thus provide a basis for recommendations about the legal principle. "The original and primary purpose of acreage limitation in the National Reclamation Law," Clawson believed,

> is to promote sound communities of independent farmers who will make homes on the land. Those who framed the law believed that protection of smaller working farmers from land monopoly and land speculation would assure better community institutions, more stable business, better and more stable school conditions for children, and a more democratic rural life.[10]

Clawson placed chief responsibility for the conduct of the study in the hands of Walter R. Goldschmidt, a thirty-year-old anthropologist in the Division of Farm Population. As he had already made a study of one town in the Central Valley, Goldschmidt was well qualified for that task that lay ahead. As a graduate student at the University of California, he had studied primitive Indian tribes in that state, working under the direction of a distinguished anthropologist, A. L. Kroeber. Soon, however, the student had followed the lead of those anthropologists who were turning their attention to modern communities. Receiving guidance from Paul Taylor and others, he had prepared a dissertation early in the 1940's on Wasco, California, that resembled the famous "expeditions" to "Middletown" and "Yankee City" in the 1920's and '30's. Goldschmidt was influenced also by Paul Taylor's and Carey

McWilliam's attempts to understand the "industrialization" and "urbanization" of California's agriculture.[11]

Thus, Goldschmidt had his own experiences and those of a number of others to draw upon when on March 22, 1944, his expedition moved out of the BAE's Berkeley office and into the southern portions of the valley. With help from Paul Taylor and his wife, Dorothea Lange, a distinguished photographer of American life, Goldschmidt and Clawson had selected Arvin in Kern County, a town based on large farms, and Dinuba in Tulare, a town surrounded by small family-size farms. From late March until late May, Goldschmidt, his wife and another young woman, armed with a five-page questionnaire and other weapons of the social explorer, functioned as "participant observers" in the towns.[12]

Even before the completion of the field work, Goldschmidt reported to Clawson in Berkeley that the differences between the towns were "overwhelming." "They are apparent to the casual visitor and become greater and greater as more information is made available." At the root of the differences lay the contrast in size of farms. Believing that even these "preliminary results" would be of interest to those concerned with acreage limitation, he hoped that Clawson would present them to a Senatorial committee before which he was soon to appear.[13]

Two months later, a larger analysis of the findings was reported. While the two towns resembled one another in the acreage devoted to crops and in the gross dollar volume of their agricultural production, they differed in almost every other way. The average farm in Arvin contained 497 acres and produced an income of $18,000, while in Dinuba the average was 57 acres and $3,300. Dinuba supported more people, had much more business activity, and contained a much higher percentage of independent farmers, business and professional men, and a much lower percentage of wage earners. Appalling material poverty greeted the visitor to Arvin, in sharp contrast to the paved streets and sidewalks, well-spaced and modest but adequate houses, and dozens of brick business buildings in Dinuba. Even more striking was the social poverty of the great bulk of the Arvin population. Unlike the situation in Dinuba, wage earners of the other town had scant opportunity to participate in social organizations and to associate with the merchants and farmers in the religious life of the community. Arvin's school children also had a less adequate school system and a much higher rate of juvenile delinquency.

To Goldschmidt, a political difference seemed to be especially significant. Arvin, an unincorporated town, showed few signs of democratic action. In fact, its county officials relied heavily upon the civic organizations for advice, even though they contained "no representatives of that four-fifths of the population who are laborers . . ." Dinuba, on the other hand, had been incorporated for forty years and made its decisions by local action and democratic processes.

Further research and analysis had only strengthened Goldschmidt's conviction that the difference in the size of farms provided the basic explanation of the other important variations. Rejecting alternative explanations, he stressed what seemed to him to be the most significant result of the basic factor:

> in one community most of the population is independently employed and has a reasonable degree of economic security and social stability, whereas in the other most of the people are dependent upon wages and stand in a subordinate relationship to the few, with the result that they have little economic security and no social stability.

Inequalities in land holdings promoted inequalities in economic security and social stability which in turn led to a host of other inequalities, including political ones.[14]

The many efforts to guarantee that the study would be conducted in a scientific fashion had not driven values from the project. It was, in fact, designed to deal with questions of good and bad. Furthermore Goldschmidt's attitude toward his materials suggests that his mind had been influenced by one side of the agrarian tradition. With enthusiasm, he concluded that Dinuba was superior to Arvin. Above all, the town of the small farmer was more democratic.

Long before he reached his Jeffersonian conclusions, however, other people with a somewhat different set of values began to attack his project. As soon as the expedition moved into the valley, Congressman Alfred J. Elliott of California's tenth district (the district that included Arvin and Dinuba) criticized the project on the floor of the House;[15] and Bob Franklin, a news commentator sponsored by the Associated Farmers, a California group that represented large farm employers and industries closely allied with the farming business,[16] attacked the study in two radio broadcasts. Soon other representatives of the Associated Farmers joined the battle,[17] and the owners of Arvin's largest fruit farm, the giant Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation of San Francisco, refused to allow Goldschmidt to interview laborers on its farm.[18] Then, on April 15, came a blast from John Pickett's *Pacific Rural Press*, a publication highly regarded by many leaders in California agriculture.[19]

During the next few months, the ranks of the critics expanded. Pickett and Elliott returned to the study frequently and picked up help from others, including the San Francisco *Chronicle*, State Senator Bradford Crittendon of Stockton, and several farm leaders.[20] Receiving national publicity, the Californians gained support from people far beyond the boundaries of the state. Papers as distant from the valley as the Hartford *Courant* attacked the questionnaire, and two prominent opponents of the New Deal, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and George Sokolsky, joined the fray and pushed others into it.[21]

The critics portrayed Goldschmidt as a "silly professor" unacquainted with the realities of farm life and guilty of behaving in a dangerously unpatriotic fashion. Picturing the study as wasting money, manpower, gasoline and tires needed to win the war and as involving improper and useless inquiries into the lives of citizens, Goldschmidt's foes suggested that he was "un-American." To take one example, an irate citizen in Oakland charged that the "Snooping Questions" proved that the "cowardly New Dealers are not only definitely un-American but semicommunistic!" Going further, he suggested that Goldschmidt should "get out of the U. S. A. instead of trying to set up a dictatorship."[22]

The spokesman for the Associated Farmers removed any doubts about what lay behind these broad charges. In a series of radio programs in late April and early May, Bob Franklin argued that the study was being made as part of the Bureau of Reclamation attempt to defeat efforts to remove the acreage limitation principle from the valley.[23] Although he implied that the bureau might distort the study to suit its purpose, he left no doubt that his sponsors feared any use of it—biased or unbiased—in efforts to promote harmony between the social system of the valley and the small farm ideology.[24]

In short, the battle over the study was part of a larger battle over reclamation law. As the Central Valley Project developed, large landowners in the valley had grown concerned about the acreage limitation principle. Working through their organizations, including the Associated Farmers, the Farm Bureau, and the Farmers Union, they demanded that the principle not be applied to their area. In these efforts, as in many other political battles in the state, the commercial farmers received help from various urban business groups, especially the chambers of commerce.[25] Various state officials, such as the leaders of the Agricultural Extension Service and the Water Project Authority, and numerous politicians, including Senator Sheridan Downey, also championed this cause.[26]

These Californians presented a complex argument. They gave considerable attention to the claim that the principle could not be enforced in the valley and that its advocates were simply impractical theorists. But the larger farmers and their friends had their own theories, ones that had long been important in American business thought, especially the idea that every man has the right to acquire property and to hold on to his acquisitions. Seldom criticizing the small farmer, they tended instead to argue that he should be allowed to expand his holdings as far as his talents and energies would permit and with confidence that the government would protect the results. According to this view of farming, it should provide the same opportunities for ambitious men that other businesses did. In short, those who insisted that acreage limitation should not be applied to the project pictured themselves as traditionalists, defending old American principles against the "socialistic" and "communistic" tendencies of the proponents of limitation.

The same Congressman who led the attack upon the study supplied the political action designed to guarantee that large landowners in the valley would receive water from the project. On March 22 the House passed Elliott's amendment to the Rivers and Harbors bill exempting the Central Valley Project from the acreage limitation provision.[27] This development took place during the same week that criticism of the study got under way. A piece of research needed to be discredited for it threatened plans to obtain water from a government project without being forced to reduce the size of farming operations.

From the BAE's point of view, the attack reached dangerous proportions. It included demands that new restrictions be placed upon research by that agency. In April and again in June, Elliott brought these demands to the floor of the House,[28] and in July the directors of the California Farm Bureau called upon the BAE to stop such wasteful work and turn to more useful activities.[29]

While the attack constituted a danger, it did not come as a complete surprise to the members of the BAE. From the very beginning of his work, Clawson had been aware of the "numerous, well-organized powerful groups in the Central Valley" and had tried to obtain their co-operation.[30] The criticism, when it began, struck him as "an extraordinarily interesting side light on the nature of California's agriculture" and "typical of the attitude of California's farm organizations toward any type of research which it is felt presents them and the groups they represent in an unfavorable light."[31] He and his associates knew what lay behind the attack upon their work.[32]

The members of the bureau struggled to protect their agency against this "uninformed and biased attack."[33] A carefully prepared campaign satisfied the hundreds of requests from all over the country for copies of the questionnaire, answered inquiries and criticisms, and explained the aims, methods, and conclusions of the study.[34] Goldschmidt got acquainted with leaders in Arvin and Dinuba, spoke before civic organizations there, and by such means got the co-operation that he needed to carry on his research in the face of all the pressure against it.[35] His biggest opportunity came on May 11, when Bob Franklin granted him radio time. Then, as on other occasions, he explained that he was engaged in a scientific test of the assumption concerning size of land holdings and quality of communities so as to provide an unbiased basis for the decision on acreage limitation.[36]

The information that went out from the bureau frequently emphasized the democratic implications as well as the scientific aspects of the study. As members of the BAE viewed it, the study involved democracy in its methodology and its conclusions. A scientist had gone to the people to discover what kind of community they preferred so that the government could work in harmony with the popular will, and he had discovered that the democratic version of the agrarian tradition was true. Small farms did produce superior communities. The BAE's statements during the spring and summer of 1944 indicated that even the chief of the bureau, Howard Tolley, was willing to speak of the study in this way.[37]

While these efforts to explain the study did not convince everyone that it was worthwhile,[38] some people did develop a very friendly attitude toward it.[39] It was praised and used by leaders in the Catholic Rural Life Conference, the American Country Life Association, and the Department of Interior.[40] The Farm Security Administration, Clawson reported, was "particularly interested in getting the results of Goldschmidt's study before the farm population, as they feel it supports their program,"[41] and Bill Locke, the editor of the Dinuba *Sentinel*, believed that his town could be proud that it was being presented to "Congress and the nation as a model of social and agricultural development."[42]

Defense of the study, just like criticism of it, was related to the battle over acreage limitation. The San Francisco *News*, for example, in an editorial supporting the application of the principle to the Central Valley, pointed out that "studies made in the San Joaquin Valley show plainly that communities where small farms predominate are economically and socially greatly superior to those where so-called 'factory farms' prevail."[43] Another supporter of the principle, the National Farmers Union, supplied its members with some of the facts about the two towns and concluded that the Arvin pattern was the one "the Associated Farmers, the Farm Bureau, the California Chamber of Commerce, and the huge open-shop employers associations of San Francisco and Los Angeles, are striving to perpetuate and extend in rural California."[44] Senate investigators were advised by a San Francisco consultant on community planning to "examine the results of the recent study of two valley communities" for evidence that "unless the Central Valley is developed on a pattern of family farms . . . we shall fail to develop sound communities."[45] And the Elliott amendment's leading foe in the House, Jerry Voorhis of California, also liked the study.[46]

A number of individuals and groups championed the cause of acreage limitation in the Central Valley. The list included leaders of most religious faiths and veterans groups, the McClatchy chain of newspapers in the valley, Manchester Boddy's papers in Los Angeles, Congressman Tolan of California, and Senators La Follette of Wisconsin, Hatch and Chávez of New Mexico, and Hayden of Arizona. The smaller farmer of California and his organizations were especially conspicuous, while George Sehlmeyer, the master of the state Grange and a nearly constant opponent of the Farm Bureau, the Associated Farmers and their allies,[47] stood in the front ranks. And the state units of the CIO and AFL also battled strenuously for limitation.[48]

These supporters of limitation saw themselves as defenders of the great American tradition of agrarian democracy. They argued that the nation's land policy had traditionally favored the small farm and should continue to do so because democracy depended upon the widespread existence of such farms. The opponents of the Elliott amendment demanded that the nationally financed project create opportunities for large numbers of people, including service men and defense workers who would soon be released from their wartime labors. Bleak pictures were painted of the practices of large landholders and the lives of agricultural workers, while communities of family farmers were described in attractive terms.

Members of the BAE shared this hostility toward the Elliott amendment. For one thing, it conflicted with their scientific point of view. By attempting to force a decision and producing a heated controversy before the completion of the research, the amendment rejected the scientific method as a means of arriving at a decision, complicated the task of conducting an investigation, and made it difficult for the investigators to get their findings accepted as something other than propaganda.[49] Furthermore, as some of the social scientists were influenced by the agrarian tradition as well as their scientific training, they placed a high value on the family farm. "Personally," Goldschmidt informed a friend,

> I feel that the family farm is better than the factory system as we have it in California, . . . because in one case there is relative social and economic equality, while in the other there is a terrific gulf between the classes in the population. Another point . . . is that the large operators have such terrible sources of power and pressure.[50]

As a consequence of these views, Goldschmidt and Clawson, along with their friend Paul Taylor, fought for the application of the limitation principle in the Central Valley, often using the anthropologist's study to support their case.[51] Their conception of the proper role of social scientists did not require that they assume a neutral, above-the-battle pose.[52]

As time passed, however, leaders in the Washington office of the BAE—worried about maintaining the reputation of the agency as a center for scientific research—began to retreat from the strong support they had given Goldschmidt. In December of 1944 Peter De Vries, the director of economic information, refused to authorized publication of a magazine article in which Goldschmidt defended acreage limitation vigorously and lashed out at those who supported the Elliott amendment. De Vries argued that the article improperly sought to influence pending legislation and attacked a specific congressman. "I am sure we stand to lose out if we approve that sort of procedure," the information director advised Clawson, who had urged that the piece be cleared for publication. "We are engaged in research; so let's present our findings and let the politicians wage the political war on the basis of our findings."[53]

At the same time, Goldschmidt encountered similar difficulties with an article on his study that had been requested by an editor of *Harper's* magazine. The editor, as well as members of the bureau, believed that the article suffered from a bias. Such a view was not shared by Clawson, who had welcomed the opportunity to have "an unusually important and significant study" reported in a leading magazine and regarded the article as "an accurate discussion of the results obtained." De Vries thought otherwise and wrote to Clawson:

> I think you should impress on Dr. Goldschmidt that even though we are interested in publicizing our work in the Central Valley project, we are interested primarily in getting out our findings, not in evangelizing on the basis of what those findings reveal. If we approach the problem in this objective fashion, our axe will cut just as deep and we won't run the danger of wearing out our grindstone.[54]

Goldschmidt was being frustrated by the application of a theory of the social scientist's role that conflicted with his own conception, but Carey McWilliams, one of the original sources of inspiration for Goldschmidt's work, came to the rescue. This California lawyer had been battling for a decade with some of the most powerful groups in the farm politics of his state. Early in 1945 he published a pamphlet that Goldschmidt had helped to prepare and that publicized the Arvin-Dinuba investigation. Calling for "a national agricultural policy genuinely concerned, not with making farming more profitable for the groups for whom it is already profitable, but with extending democracy in farm production." the pamphlet created a stir in farm organization circles, caused *Fortune* to pay attention to the study, and aroused John Pickett. The latter informed his readers that two "stormy petrels"—McWilliams and "The 'Dirty Rug' Questionnaire of Ickes"—had now made "joint reappearances."[55]

Goldschmidt's eagerness to engage in controversy had begun to trouble his superior in the Division of Farm Population. Although he had defended the younger scholar in the spring of 1944,[56] Carl Taylor's worries about Goldschmidt's handling of evidence and the publicity that had been given to his study had grown steadily.[57] Involved in the tension between the two men, and also between Taylor and Clawson, was a difference in aims in their participation in the research program of the Central Valley Project. While Taylor thought chiefly about the development of rural sociology, Goldschmidt and Clawson were passionately involved in the controversy over reclamation law.[58]

The tension appeared in the discussion, late in 1945 and early the following year, of the publication of the enlarged report of the study. Satisfied with it, Clawson urged publication.[59] Taylor, however, and his top lieutenant in Berkeley, Walter McKain, had reservations, not about the research, but chiefly about the presentation of it. Above all, they believed that the anthropologist exaggerated the importance of the difference in size of farms in his explanation of the variations between the two towns and dismissed other causal factors on which he had evidence, especially the contrast in the ages of the communities. Some revisions were made, but not nearly enough to satisfy Taylor and McKain. Finally, Taylor sent the manuscript to the new chief of the BAE, O. V. Wells, so that he and the secretary of agriculture could consider it. "This is a very excellent piece of research . . .," Taylor advised. "The author, however, presents the manuscript in terms of a lawyer's argument, maximizing data which prove his viewpoint and minimizing in his conclusions, not even using, some of the other data."[60]

Wells and Secretary Clinton Anderson were in no mood to publish such a controversial document, for the BAE had just suffered a series of attacks that had produced new restrictions on its activities. One commentator saw the Arvin-Dinuba study as the work that "brought down the killing blow." In support of his case, he suggested that the resolution of the directors of the California Farm Bureau had led to the provisions in the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill in June of 1946 that prevented the bureau from, among other matters, "conducting cultural surveys."[61] Goldschmidt, however, pointed out that there was no evidence in the hearings on the appropriation bill that his study "had anything to do with the curtailed budget."[62]

It is true that other activities of the bureau dominated the attention of Congress when it took this drastic action. Southerners worried about cotton prices and race relations, rather than Californians concerned with reclamation law, were chiefly responsible. However, the study had surely contributed to the development of distrust of the BAE among powerful groups and to the growth of their demands that restrictions be placed upon it. Elliott and others had called in 1944 for restrictions of the type that were imposed in 1946, and the California Farm Bureau had played a leading role in the anti-BAE activity in 1944 while the American Farm Bureau was the most important pressure group in the successful battle against the agency in 1946.[63] Furthermore, the troubles it had been having from 1944 to 1946 help one to understand why Wells, who was eager to save the BAE as a center for scientific research,[64] was reluctant to publish a highly controversial report.

The attitudes of Wells and Anderson, however, did not prevent the study from being published in 1946. One of the militant New Dealers in the Senate, James Murray of Montana, had developed an interest in the study when it had had the support of both the chief of the bureau and the secretary of agriculture.[65] Back in July of 1944, Clawson had appeared before the Senator's "Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small Business Enterprises" and called attention to Goldschmidt's conclusion "that somewhat more people can be supported and supported at a distinctly higher level of living, when the farms are small or moderate in size compared with the situation that develops when the farms are very large." Murray, who was highly critical of big business and worried about the possibility of large-scale unemployment in the postwar period, soon inserted Goldschmidt's short paper in the record of the committee's hearings.[66]

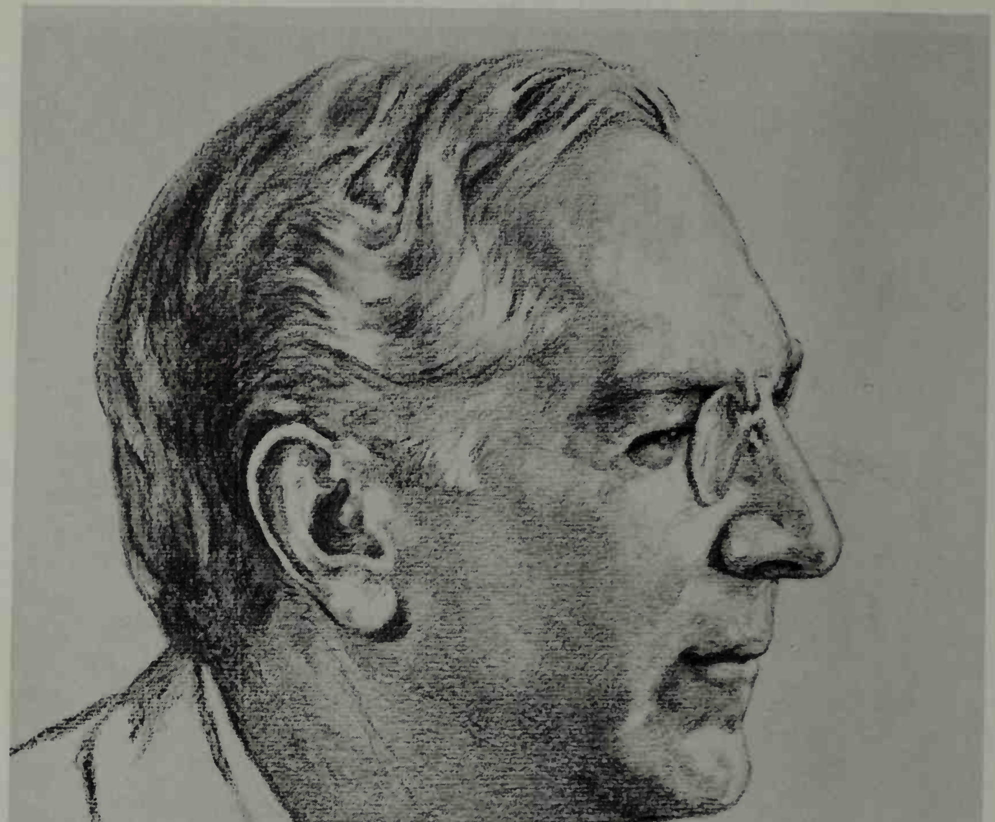
Friction developed two years later when the Montana lawmaker sought to publish the larger report in his committee's series of studies on the problems and worth of small business. In September of 1946

Goldschmidt's good friend in Berkeley, Paul Taylor, informed the committee's research director, Dewey Anderson, that the report had been completed. Anderson, a Californian who had previously battled against the same groups that were opposing acreage limitation, asked Wells for a chance to appraise the manuscript, but the latter replied that it "is not now in a form which is acceptable to the Bureau nor is it even in such shape as I feel it should or can be released (even on a confidential basis) for outside study or appraisal."[67] And when Murray took his case to Wells' superior officer, Secretary Anderson supported the head of the BAE, arguing that the manuscript "is a working draft and represents the personal opinions and conclusions of Mr. Goldschmidt."[68] Obviously Wells and Anderson had no desire to antagonize the groups that disliked those "personal opinions and conclusions."

This action in Agriculture did not prevent the Senator from obtaining the manuscript from Goldschmidt since he was no longer a member of the BAE. Just before Christmas, the committee printed a 139-page report on life in Arvin and Dinuba. An introductory statement by Murray, which included a quotation from Paul Taylor, stressed the scholarly character of the report and its implications as to the relations between small business and democracy. The committee print revealed that Goldschmidt still believed that the difference in size of farms was the most important cause of the variations in the quality of social conditions in the two towns. The publication did not make its readers aware, however, that he had made the study as a member of the BAE. The author was identified as a professor at the University of California in Los Angeles who had prepared the report for the committee.[69] After the restrictions had been placed on the BAE, he had rejected an offer to join Carl Taylor's staff in Washington and had accepted the academic post.[70] There he found the freedom needed to publish his interpretation of life in the Central Valley and his views about ways to improve it.[71]

As one observer expected, the defenders of the 160-acre limitation found the committee's "novel study" to be "one of the heaviest pieces of artillery that they have added to their arsenal in years," and they used it "as a weapon to keep the big farmers thirsty."[72] Although the Elliott amendment had been defeated in the Senate in 1944, efforts to free the Central Valley Project from the limitation had continued. Frequently in 1946 and 1947 the opponents of those efforts employed

Raymond L. Haight, 1947
*Courtesy of the University of Southern California*


Peter Van Valkenburgh
October 1934
Upton Sinclair

Upton Sinclair, 1934
Portrait by Peter Van Valkenburgh
*Courtesy of the Bancroft Library*

GOVERNOR FRANK F. MERRIAM

Opening the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, November 12, 1936.

*Left to right:* Chief Engineer Charles H. Purcell, former President Herbert Hoover, and Governor Frank F. Merriam.

*From the California Historical Society Library*

Hartsook
PHOTO

James Rolph, Jr., Former Governor of California.
*From the California Historical Society Library*

the community study. It was cited so often in Senate hearings in May of 1947 on proposals to exempt the California project and two others that one impatient Senator protested that "we have bisected it and dissected it and analyzed it at great length."[73] It has become, according to Sheridan Downey, "the Bible of the agricultural left wing, the 'Middletown' of the rural planners." Consequently this leader in the Senate of efforts to exempt the Central Valley spent a good deal of time in 1947 criticizing the study as a costly and biased account that neglected the most important explanation of the differences in the social conditions of the two towns: the fact that Arvin was younger and thus had not yet been able to develop Dinuba-type conditions.[74]

Thus, even after Goldschmidt left the BAE and despite that agency's efforts to suppress his report, his study remained a focal point of controversy. Powerful groups continued to battle over the study. The outcome of the conflict over acreage limitation indicated that the study's opponents were not omnipotent since Downey failed in 1947, just as Elliott had in 1944, to obtain exemptions for the Central Valley Project.[75] Considering this, one might doubt that Wells brought great benefits to his bureau by his decision on the report in 1946, especially as some friends of the study were aware of, and displeased with, the efforts to prevent it from being published.[76] By retreating before the bureau's critics and behaving much more cautiously than Clawson and Goldschmidt believed social scientists should, Wells neglected a chance to strengthen his agency with various journalists and politicians and such groups as the Bureau of Reclamation, the CIO, the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

The chief of the bureau had encountered the inherently controversial character of the social sciences and could find no way to free his agency completely from the conflict that was raging over reclamation law. Opponents of the study, who saw it as a threat to the farm business of the Central Valley, would have denounced the Department of Agriculture if it had published the study, while its friends criticized the attempt to suppress it and found other ways to make it available for their purposes. Perhaps if Goldschmidt and Clawson had been less militant in their approach and had accepted the theory of the proper role of the social scientist that Peter De Vries and Carl Taylor had pushed, the bureau could have remained above the battle. But this seems unlikely. Surely any significant study that reached conclusions about acreage limitation was destined to be drawn into this very hot conflict. Furthermore, Goldschmidt's and Clawson's values pushed them into the battle. Having been influenced by the democratic side of the agricultural tradition, they thought first in terms of the democratic, rather than the business implications of a farm program. With such values, these social scientists found it difficult to stay out of the thick of the fight and impossible to avoid infuriating some people and pleasing others.

## NOTES

1. See Richard Hofstadter's discussion of the American farmer's "dual character," the "soft" and the "hard" side of his existence. *Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), pp. 47, 95, 120.

2. For a discussion of the idea "that farming as a family enterprise is the 'backbone of democracy' " see A. Whitney Griswold, *Farming and Democracy* (New York, 1948).

3. According to Clifford B. Anderson, "the second doctrine of agrarianism – the belief that farming is a way of life, not a business and that the farmer living close to nature and God is morally superior to urban businessmen and laborers" was seriously challenged in the 1920's and '30's by the idea that the farmer was "simply another businessman trying to make a profit, or . . . simply another laborer seeking higher wages for his work on the land." "The Metamorphosis of American Agrarian Idealism in the 1920's and 1930's," *Agricultural History*, XXXV (October, 1961), 185, 186, 188.

4. See Henry Nash Smith's discussion of the myth of "the Garden of the World" and especially the myth of "the Fee-Simple Empire." *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950), Book 3.

5. H. W. Bashore, "Central Valley Project Studies," July 15, 1942; Varden Fuller in Meeting of Problem 19 Committee, March 10, 1943; H. R. Tolley, "The Central Valley Studies," May 9, 1944, National Archives, Washington, Record Group 83, Records Relating to Projects, Central Valley (hereinafter, NA, RG 83, PR). Lloyd Fisher to Carl Taylor and Marion Clawson to Tolley, October 29, 1941, NA, RG 83, Records Relating to Regional Activities, Central Valley Project (hereinafter, CV).

6. Clawson to F. L. Thomsen, September 15; to Central Valley Staff, BAE, December 7; to Harold Vogel, December 31, 1942; NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson to Tolley and Lloyd Fisher to Carl Taylor, October 29, 1941; C. P. Heisig to Sherman E. Johnson, October 31, 1941; Walter McKain to Carl Taylor, December 18, 1943,

NA, RG 83, CV. Clawson to Lippert Ellis, August 8, 1944, Federal Records Center, San Francisco (hereinafter, FRC), RG 83, Records of H. E. Selby.

7. Tentative Work Outline, Problem 19, November 6; Clawson to Central Valley Staff, BAE, November 6, December 7, 1942; Meeting of Problem 19 Committee, March 10, 1943, NA, RG 83, PR; Clawson to Conrad Taeuber, June 21, 1943, NA, RG 83, CV.

8. McKain to Carl Taylor, November 16, 1943, NA, RG 83, Records Relating to Regional Activities, Western (hereinafter W); Carl Taylor to Walter Goldschmidt, December 1, 1943, NA, RG 83, General Correspondence, Goldschmidt (hereinafter, GC, G). Goldschmidt, *Small Business and the Community: A Study in Central Valley of California on Effects of Scale of Farm Operations,* Senate Committee Print No. 13, Report of the Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business, United States Senate, 79 Congress, 2 Session (Washington, 1946), vii; Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York, 1945), 416-17, 422, 426-428, 435-441. Edmund de S. Brunner, *The Growth of a Science: A Half Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States* (New York, 1957), chapter 2. Taylor to McKain, January 5, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

9. On the careful planning of the study see the records for the period October, 1943, to January, 1944, in RG 83. In the Archives the files are W, CV and PR. In the Records Center are Central Valley Project Records (hereinafter, CVPR) and Records of Goldschmidt (hereinafter, RG).

10. "Current Proposals to Waive the Acreage Limitation of National Reclamation Law for the Central Valley Project," April 7, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

11. Maurice Stein, *The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies* (Princeton, 1960), chapters 2 and 3, and p. 308. Goldschmidt, "Social Class in America—A Critical Review," *American Anthropologist,* LII (Oct.-Dec., 1950), 484-488. Goldschmidt, "The Hupa White Deerskin Dance," *University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* XXXV (1940), 103-142. Goldschmidt, *Nomlaki Ethnography* (Berkeley, 1951). Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York, 1947).

12. Peter DeVries to editor of Hartford *Courant,* May 5; Clawson to Tolley, April 12, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV. Lange and Taylor, *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion* (New York, 1939). Goldschmidt to Wendell Calhoun, April 25, 1944, FRC, RG 83, Records Relating to the "Central Valley Project Studies," (hereinafter, RCVPS). Goldschmidt to Carl Taylor, n.d., FRC, RG 83, RG.

13. Goldschmidt to Clawson, April 28, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Goldschmidt to Edwin Wilson, April 25, 29; Goldschmidt to Patricia Mathews, April 29, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

14. Goldschmidt, "Large Farms or Small: The Social side," *Agriculture in Transition from War to Peace: Papers and Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual*

*Conference of the Western Farm Economics Association Held at Los Gatos, California, June 27-29, 1944,* 216-227.

15. *Congressional Record,* 78 Congress, 2 Session, March 23, 1944, 3003.

16. Clarke Chambers, *California Farm Organizations: A Historical Study of the Grange, the Farm Bureau and the Associated Farmers, 1929-1941* (Berkeley, 1952), 42, 199.

17. Goldschmidt to McKain, March 28, 31; to Clawson, March 29, April 2; Eskref Shevky to Goldschmidt, March 28; Special Note on Problem of Getting on Di Giorgio Farm, April 6; Notes on Evening Session with Lester Frick, April 11, 1944; FRC, RG 83, RG. Mildred P. to My dear Friends, April 9; Goldschmidt to Barrows, May 2; Goldschmidt to Clawson, April 12, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Clawson to Tolley, April 3, 12; to Barrows, April 3, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

18. Clawson to Tolley, April 3, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV. Goldschmidt to Clawson, April 28, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. McKain to Di Giorgio Fruit Corporation, April 20, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Visit at Di Giorgio Farm, March 27; Goldschmidt to McKain, March 31; Special Note on Problem of Getting on Di Giorgio Farm, April 6, 1944; Arvin Community Study, in "Misc-Arvin," FRC, RG 83, RG.

19. The *Press* was so highly regarded by some of the farm leaders of the state that they supplied subscriptions to it for California Congressmen and legislators, news commentators such as Westbrook Pegler, H. V. Kaltenborn, and Fulton Lewis, Jr., and "some agricultural spirited city leaders." John Pickett to Victor Rosetti, May 8, 1943, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, C. C. Teague Papers.

20. *Pacific Rural Press,* April 29, May 13, June 10, 1944. Goldschmidt to Beryl Strong, July 11; Wendell Calhoun to Tolley, April 26, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Pickett to Tolley, May 1; J. J. Deuel, Meeting of Problem 19 Committee, July 18; W. F. Wooley to Clawson, October 3, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV. *Congressional Record,* 78 Congress, 2 Session, April 27, 1944, 3751-3756; June 6, 1944, 5417-5418. Terra Bella [Calif.] *News,* June 2, 1944. San Francisco *Chronicle,* May 15, 16, 27, June 2, 5, 1944. New York *Times,* June 4, 1944. Dinuba *Sentinel,* June 8, 1944. *Superior California Register,* June 11, 1944.

21. Hartford *Courant,* April 30, 1944. Nat Frame to Carl Taylor, May 3, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Kansas City *Star,* April 29, 1944. Milwaukee *Journal,* April 29, 1944. Lewis's attack took place on May 4, Sokolsky's on June 20. For evidence of Lewis's ties with the opponents of acreage limitation in California see Goldschmidt interview with the Bodkins and the Nelsons, April 14, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RG and *Pacific Rural Press,* May 13, 1944. On the letter-writing campaign that Lewis and Sokolsky stimulated see NA, RG 83, PR and NA, RG 16, Subject File of the Immediate Office of the Secretary, Statistics, 1944.

22. J. R. Brown to Goldschmidt, n. d., NA, RG 83, PR. See also Waterford, California *News,* April 20, 1944.

23. See also Clarence F. Lea to Clawson, April 28, 1944; Varden Fuller in

Meeting of Problem 19 Committee, March 10, 1943, NA, RG 83, PR. J. J. Deuel, in Meeting of Problem 19 Committee, July 18, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

24. Excerpts from Scripts of May 1, 2, 8, NA, RG 83, PR.

25. Chambers, *Farm Organizations.*

26. For some of the evidence on the participants in the 1944 battle over acreage limitation and on their arguments see "Acreage Limitation in the Central Valley—A Report on Problem 19, Central Valley Project Studies," September 25, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV and two senatorial hearings: *Rivers and Harbors Omnibus Bill; California Central Valley Project,* Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, 78 Congress, 2 Session on H. R. 3961 (Washington, 1944) (hereinafter, Hearing on H. R. 3961) and *Central Valley Project, California,* Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, United States Senate, 78 Congress, 2 Session on S. Res. 295 (Washington, 1944), (hereinafter, Hearings on S. Res. 295).

27. *Congressional Record,* 78 Congress, 2 Session, March 22, 1944, 2921-2924.

28. *Ibid.,* April 27, 1944, 3751-3756; June 6, 1944, 5417-5418. See also, Hearings on H. R. 3961, 614-616, 670-671, 698, 701. Hearings on S. Res. 295, 444. Eleanor G. Darraugh to Ed Isaac, June 2, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR.

29. *Pacific Rural Press,* August 5, 1944.

30. Clawson to Harold Vogel, December 31, 1942, NA, RG 83, PR.

31. Clawson to Tolley, April 3, 12, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV and PR.

32. Clawson to Tolley, June 6, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV. Goldschmidt to Clawson, March 29, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RG. Wendell Calhoun to Josephine Schlatter, May 17, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

33. Clawson to Harlan Barrows, April 11, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

34. There is much evidence on this campaign for the period April to August, 1944, in RG 83. In the Archives the files are PR and CV; in the Records Center, RCVPS, RG and Records of Clawson (hereinafter, RC).

35. Goldschmidt to McKain, March 28; to Clawson, March 29, 1944; folders on interviews, FRC, RG 83, RG. Goldschmidt to Clawson, March 30; to Calhoun, April 22, 25, May 2; to Barrows, May 2 and to Jane Elderkin, May 4, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Goldschmidt to Carl Taylor, May 2, 1944, NA, RG 83, GC, G. Goldschmidt to Clawson, April 28; to Carl Taylor, May 26, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson to Tolley, May 31, June 6, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

36. Goldschmidt Script; Clawson to Goldschmidt, May 6, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR.

37. Carl Taylor to Irene C. Craig, May 4; to Nat Frame, May 10; Charles Brannan to E. V. Izaac, August 15, 1944; Tolley to Elliott, May 1; Tolley, "Central Valley Studies," May 9, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson, May 26; USDA, BAE Press Release, July 24, NA, RG 83, CV, "Western Agriculture," FRC, RG 83, RG.

38. John Phillips, *Congressional Record,* 78 Congress, 2 Session, June 6, 1944,

5418. J. R. Brown to Clawson, May 27, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Sheridan Downey, *They Would Rule the Valley* (San Francisco, 1947), 183.

39. S. A. King to USDA, May 16, NA, RG 83, PR. Mrs. Melba Kremer to editor, San Francisco *News*, June 7, 1944. Clawson to Tolley, May 31, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

40. Goldschmidt to Fortas, July 20; Abe Fortas to Goldschmidt, July 28, 1944; L. G. Ligutti to Goldschmidt, October 21, 1944; Martin E. Schirber, January 9, 1945, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Paul Maris to Goldschmidt, January 1, 1945, FRC, RG 83, General Correspondence (hereinafter, GC).

41. Clawson to DeVries, August 3, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

42. Dinuba *Sentinel*, May 25, June 8, 1944. Goldschmidt to Locke, June 6, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

43. July 24, 1944.

44. *National Union Farmer*, July 1, 1944. The National Farmers Union opposed the Elliott amendment while the California Farmers Union supported it. The latter was highly critical of the policies of the national organization, regarding it as having come under the control of "radicals." Consequently, the state group lost its charter and in 1947 became the California Farmers, Incorporated. *National Union Farmer*, January 15, 1944, March 15, 1946. Chambers, *Farm Organizations*, 55. In contrast, in the Grange and the Farm Bureau the positions of the state and national units were in harmony on the 160-acre limitation. *National Grange Monthly*, January, 1945. *American Farm Bureau Federation Official News Letter*, May 16, August 22, 1944.

45. Catherine Bauer in Hearings on S. Res. 295, 226. See also p. 462.

46. *Congressional Record*, 78 Congress, 2 Session, March 22, 2921-2924; December 14, 1944, 9483-9484. Voorhis to Tolley, May 4, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR.

47. Chambers, *Farm Organizations*, 13-20, 155, 183, 202.

48. See Note 26.

49. Clawson to Tolley, April 12, June 20; Goldschmidt to Carl Taylor, May 26; "Acreage Limitations in the Central Valley—A Report on Problem 19, CVPS," September 25, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson to Tolley, March 27, May 31; Clawson, "Current Proposals to Waive the Acreage Limitations of National Reclamation Law for the Central Valley Project," April 7, 1944, NA, RG 83, CV.

50. Goldschmidt to Carey McWilliams, June 1, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS.

51. Clawson to Goldschmidt, March 20, 30, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RG. Clawson to Don Murphy and W. W. Waymack, March 24; to MacAlan Gardner, May 31; to Will Lissner, August 2, 16; James Casey to Clawson, May 31; Goldschmidt to Bill Locke and Beryl Strong, July 11, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Clawson to Tolley, March 27, April 1, May 22, 31; to Senator Downey, May 16; Clawson, "Current Proposals to Waive the Acreage Limitations of National Reclamation Law for the Central Valley Project," April 7, 1944; "Acreage Limitation in the Central Valley—A Report on Problem 19, CVPS," September 25, 1944, NA, RG

83, CV. Clawson to Calhoun, April 24; Stephen Rauschenbusch to Clawson and Paul Taylor, August 17; Michael Straus to Clawson, September 11, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Tolley to Clawson, April 4, 6, June 26, July 3, 11; Goldschmidt to Clawson, April 28; DeVries to Clawson, May 5; Clawson to Tolley, June 20, September 1; to S. L. Heisinger, August 18; to Strauss, August 21, 1944; "The Effect of the Central Valley Project on the Agriculture and Industrial Economy and on the Social Character of California: a report on problem 24, CVPS," March, 1945, NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson to Tolley, May 25, 1945, FRC, RG 83, RC. Clawson to Richard Savage, June 7; to Samuel Kolish, June 9, 1945, FRC, RG 83, CVPR. Hearings on H. R. 3961, 607-616, 670-671. Hearings on S. Res. 295, 103, 110.

52. Clawson to Tolley, June 20, 1944. NA, RG 83, PR.

53. DeVries to Clawson, December 19, 21, 1944. Goldschmidt, "Reclamation for Whom?" NA, RG 83, PR. Clawson to DeVries, December 14, 1944, FRC RG 83, RCVPS.

54. DeVries to Clawson, December 21; Clawson to DeVries, December 2, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR. Goldschmidt to Carl Taylor, December 15, 1944, NA, RG 83, GC, G. Goldschmidt, "The Tale of Two Cities: A Guide to American Land Policy in the Future," FRC, RG 83, GC.

55. "Small Farm and Big Farm," Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 100 (New York, 1945). *Current Biography*, 1943, 484-486. Chambers, *Farm Organizations*, 76, 89, 91-92, 262. Robert E. Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California* (Berkeley, 1953), 87, 141-142, 161. McWilliams to Goldschmidt, May 4; Goldschmidt to McWilliams, June 1, 1944, FRC, RG 83, RCVPS. Ladd Haystead, *Fortune*, XXXI (May, 1945), 160-163. *Pacific Rural Press*, March 31, April 14, 1945.

56. Taylor to Goldschmidt, May 20, 1944, NA, RG 83, GC, G. Goldschmidt to Taylor, May 26, 1944, NA, RG 83, PR.

57. Taylor to DeVries, June 20; McKain to Taylor, September 9; Taylor to McKain, September 16, 1944, NA, RG 83, GC, G. Clawson to DeVries, with note by Taylor, December 14, 1944; Taylor to Caroline Sherman, January 10, 1945, NA, RG 83, PR.

58. Ralph Nichols to Caroline Sherman, February 15; Clawson to Earl Bell, September 24, 1945, NA, RG 83, PR.

59. Clawson to Earl Bell, September 24, 1945; to Taylor, October 22, 1945, NA, RG 83, PR.

60. McKain to Taylor, September 14; October 12, 1945; March 20, 1946; Taylor to McKain, September 21; December 10; to Clawson, November 2, 1945; to J. F. Thackery, April 11; to Wells, June 4, 1946, NA, RG 83, PR. See also John W. Bennett, *American Anthropologist*, LI (Jan.-Mar., 1949), 118-123 for a somewhat similar evaluation by a social scientist outside of the BAE.

In spite of the criticism, Goldschmidt's work found its way into leading textbooks in rural sociology, including one by the Division of Farm Population:

Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York, 1948), 275, Carl Taylor, *et. al.*, *Rural Life in the United States* (New York, 1949), 547, and Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (NewYork, 1950), 301-302. For other evidence of McKain's positive attitudes toward the work see *Rural Sociology*, XII (December, 1947), 437-438, and Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York, 1949), 527n.

For the quite favorable views of one of the leading students of communities see W. Lloyd Warner, *et. al.*, *Social Class in America* (Chicago, 1949), 129, 130, 253, 254 and Warner, *American Life Dream and Reality* (Chicago, 1953), 245.

As time passed, Goldschmidt developed some important reservations but continued to accept much of the study. Goldschmidt, "Social Class in America," *loc. cit.*, 484-488. Goldschmidt, "Social Class and the Dynamics of Status in America," *American Anthropologist*, LVII (December, 1955), 1209-1217. Angus McDonald, *One Hundred and Sixty Acres of Water: The Story of the Antimonopoly Law* (Washington, 1958), 34-35. Goldschmidt, *Man's Way* (New York, 1959), 216-217, 245-246.

61. Alden Stevens, "Small Town America, VII, Dinuba, California," *Nation*, CLXIII (September 28, 1946), 351.

62. Letter of December 16, 1946, *Nation*, CLXIV (January 18, 1947), 84.

63. *Agriculture Department Appropriation Bill for 1947*, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 79 Congress, 2 Session, on the Agriculture Department Appropriation Bill for 1947 (Washington, 1946). *Agricultural Appropriation Bill for 1947*, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 79 Congress, 2 Session, on H. R. 5605 (Washington, 1946). *Congressional Record*, 78 Congress, 2 Session, April 27, 3756; June 6, 1944, 5418-5419; 79 Congress, 2 Session, March 7, 2007, 2015-2016, 2029, 2062-2063; March 8, 2071-2073; June 1, 6099; June 11, 1946, 6667-6668. *National Union Farmer*, March 1, 1946. *American Farm Bureau Federation Official News Letter*, February 20; May 15; July 10; September 4, 1946. Downey, *Rule the Valley*, 51-52. Charles Hardin, "The Bureau of Agricultural Economics under Fire: A Study in Valuation Conflicts," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXVIII (August, 1946), 651-668. Hardin, *Freedom in Agricultural Education* (Chicago, 1955), chapters 13, 14.

64. Hardin, *Freedom*, 155-159, 175-176. Downey, *Rule the Valley*, 43.

65. On Secretary Claude Wickard's support for the study see *Spade*, September 5, 1944. C. P. Loomis to Carl Taylor, January 5, 1945, NA, RG 83, CV. Tolley, when faced with the mounting criticism of the BAE, was more cautious than Clawson. Tolley to Clawson, September 13, 1945, NA, RG 83, PR.

66. *Problems of American Small Business*, Hearings before the Special Committee to Study and Survey Problems of Small Business Enterprises, United States Senate, 78 Congress, 2 Session, pursuant to S. Res. 66 (Washington, 1944), 5384, 5690-5700. Goldschmidt to Carl Taylor, December 15, 1944, NA, RG 83,

GC, G. "Murray, Wealthy Champion of a Newer Deal," *Business Week,* February 10, 1945, 22. Forrest Davis, "Millionaire Moses," *Saturday Evening Post,* CCXVII (December 8, 1945), 9 ff.

67. Anderson to Wells, September 4; Wells to Anderson, October 9, 1946, NA, RG 83, PR. "Murray's Megaphones," *News Week,* XXV (February 26, 1945), 62. Burke, *Olson's New Deal,* 31, 65, 79, 91-93, 137-138, 164, 260. Chambers, *Farm Organizations,* 89-95.

68. Keith Himebaugh to Murray, October 18, 1946, NA, RG 83, PR.

69. Goldschmidt, *Small Business and the Community.* Washington *Post,* December 23, 1946. New York *Times,* December 23, 1946. *Commonweal,* XLV (January 10, 1947), 316. Angus McDonald, "Two Towns," *New Republic,* CXVI (February 3, 1947), 36-37. "Small Farms and Small Towns," *Business Week,* April 12, 1947, 17. Douglas R. Page, *California Law Review,* XXXVIII (October, 1950), 733.

70. Goldschmidt to Wells, February 20; Wells to Goldschmidt, March 12, 1948, NA, RG 83, PR.

71. In addition to the print, he published a book and an article based chiefly on his study of Wasco but also on the study of Arvin and Dinuba. These also revealed his emphasis upon economic causation and his equalitarian point of view. *As You Sow.* "Down on the Farm—New Style," Antioch *Review,* VIII (June, 1948), 179-192.

72. "Small Farms and Small Towns," *Business Week,* April 12, 1947, 17-18.

73. Robert de Roos, *The Thirsty Land: The Story of the Central Valley Project* (Stanford, 1948), 88. Robert Kenny to Carl H. Hooley, Stanley Beaubaire, M. P. Lohse, May 16, 1946; Dick Wyllie to P. A. Gordon, May 28, 1946, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Robert W. Kenny Papers. *Commonweal,* XLV (January 10, 1947), 316. McDonald, "Two Towns," *loc. cit.* Bishop Robert J. Armstrong, "Family Farm versus Factory Farm," *America,* April 19, 1947. Carey McWilliams, "California's Central Valley Project," *Nation,* CLXIII (September 7, 1946), 270-272. New York *Times,* January 23, 1947. *National Union Farmer,* January 15, 1946, January 1, 1947. *Congressional Record,* 80 Congress, 1 Session, April 21, 1947, A 1791, A 1795-1796. *Exemption of Certain Projects from Land-Limitation Provisions of Federal Reclamation Laws,* Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands, United States Senate, 80 Congress, 1 Session on S. 912 (Washington, 1947), 93, 332-334, 453-454, 469-470, 502, 515, 521, 523-524, 544-545, 556-557, 587-615, 617-618, 726, 1323 (hereinafter, Hearings on S. 912).

74. Hearings on S. 912, 130-132, 336-337, 475-476, 975-977, 982-983, 990, 1044, 1166-1167, 1199. Downey, *Rule the Valley,* 33, 42-43, 52, 182-184, 190-192. See Page, *California Law Review,* XXXVIII (October, 1950), 733-734 for criticism of Downey and Baker Brownell, *The Human Community* (New York, 1950), 62-63 for an author who obviously preferred Goldschmidt's study to Downey's

critique. Community studies have frequently been criticized for their neglect of history. See for example, Julian H. Steward, *Area Research, Theory and Practice* (New York, 1950), 24-25, 51.

75. For brief discussions see Paul Taylor, "The Excess Land Law: Execution of a Public Policy," *Yale Law Journal*, LXIV (February, 1955), 502-503, and Taylor, "The Excess Land Law: Legislative Erosion of Public Policy," *Rocky Mountain Law Review*, XXX (June, 1958), 11-13.

76. Hearings on S. 912, 457-458.

# Raymond L. Haight and the Commonwealth Progressive Campaign of 1934

### *By* Bob Barger

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DESPITE THE myriad attempts to explain the California gubernatorial campaign of 1934, the entire story has never been told. Upton Sinclair's rôle in the campaign has been magnified out of proportion; this, together with the subsequent victory of Governor Frank Merriam, has all but obscured the part played by Raymond L. Haight, the Commonwealth Progressive candidate, who came close to forging a coalition of young liberals, nonpoliticos, and a few party regulars which could have made him governor of the state of California.

Haight, a comparatively little known lawyer, who had distinguished himself as a Corporation Commissioner under Governor James Rolph in 1931,[1] was very active in politics in the city of Los Angeles. He was one of the leaders of a political group known as the Minutemen, an organization which had all of the earmarks of a progressive good government league of the Square Deal Era. Haight led the attack against Mayor Shaw, and District Attorney Buron Fitts, and also was instrumental in bringing about the recall of three judges of the Superior Court.[2] Although a registered Republican, Haight was an ardent Roosevelt supporter in 1932, and had actually become quite disenchanted with both parties in California.[3]

Preparations for the 1934 campaign began early. Upton Sinclair, who

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BOB BARGER, who received his Master of Arts degree from the State University of Iowa and is currently an instructor in history at Long Beach City College, delivered this award-winning paper at the 1963 Regional Meeting of the Southern California Chapters of Phi Alpha Theta held at the campus of the University of Southern California.

had run for state office on the Socialist ticket, changed his registration to the Democratic Party in the fall of 1933, in preparation for his now famous candidacy on the EPIC platform, or End Poverty In California. Sinclair admired Haight, and meeting with him before the campaign, urged him to join the EPIC ticket and run for the office of Attorney General. Haight refused the offer indicating at the time that he had already had a conference with the Reverend Robert P. Shuler, candidate for the United States Senate in 1932, and popular Los Angeles radio minister, who had agreed to support Haight's candidacy for the governorship.[4]

In March of 1934 Haight, who was mentioned prominently as a possible Republican candidate, began traveling around the state sounding out opinion. He appeared first in the north, speaking before a newly organized nonpartisan organization of young progressives, The New Guard.[5] Speculation was running high all over the state. The Los Angeles *Daily News* in summing up the campaign felt that Upton Sinclair would win if the election were held in that month (March) and the progressives would have no one to vote for unless Raymond Haight entered the election. "A ticket including Senator Johnson and Haight at the top and rendering homage to President Roosevelt and including younger and more vigorous progressives—will completely change the political complexion of the state."[6]

On the twenty-second of March Haight made his formal announcement of candidacy declaring war against the "political middle-man." His program was to be based on the idea of smashing graft, waste, and monopoly throughout the state.[7] Since Haight had not specified his party, there were a good many people speculating about his choice.[8] He let them continue to wonder. Near the end of March the Los Angeles *Herald Express* reported that he might seek the nomination on the proposed Commonwealth ticket. The same reporter said, "Everyone is watching the state of Governor Rolph's health, Lieutenant Governor Merriam is an announced candidate but if Rolph receives his physicians O.K., Merriam will withdraw in June in favor of the governor."[9]

Early in April Haight began a speaking tour that was to take him all over the state. To a women's organization in Los Angeles, The Friday Morning Club, he boldly pointed to women's future part in cleaning up politics in California.[10] At the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, Haight suggested that the people kick the politicians out of office by forcing them to speak the truth in the campaign.[11] Speaking in the southern part of the state at San Diego, he proposed cutting down the number of governmental organizations in the state, setting up a state debt control board, and suggested that a transaction tax might be needed.[12]

Speculation continued as to which party Ray Haight was to choose. Earl Warren repudiated the support of a so-called fusion ticket boosted by "76 Clubs" of California which listed Haight for Governor and Warren for Attorney General.[13] Nine days later Haight also repudiated the use of his name on the fusion ticket reminding the voters that he was a registered Republican and intended to wage an independent campaign.[14]

The Los Angeles *Daily News* observed that "Haight's refusal to accept the sort of funds that other candidates are seeking has hurt his war chest considerably, but he has prospects of enough money to wage an effective campaign."[15] The Pasadena *Post* was already asking the question as to what would happen in the general election if voters had a choice of Merriam, Sinclair, and Haight. "With Hiram Johnson running on the Progressive ticket certain of wide support from the resurrected Bull Moose, would it not be possible for the comparatively unknown Raymond Haight, who seems destined to carry the Progressive banner, to make himself acceptable to the liberal elements and gain the governor's chair."[16]

In May the primary picture was clarified for the some fifteen to twenty candidates who were contemplating running. Governor Rolph announced that he had been advised by his physicians to retire.[17] By that time there were six qualified parties on the ballot, Republican, Democratic, Liberty, Prohibitionist, Progressive, and Socialist, with the Commonwealth party not yet qualified but more than enough signatures for that purpose had been deposited with Los Angeles County authorities.[18] More and more favorable opinion centered about the Haight candidacy. The North Hollywood *Sun Record* announced that it would do all it could to defeat Sinclair and elect Haight governor.[19] The Calexico *Chronicle* felt the former Corporations Commissioner would get a surprisingly large number of votes and that he would be the ideal candidate if he were only running on the Democratic ticket.[20] Haight began speaking on radio station KHJ, the Don Lee Network, and attracted statewide attention.[21]

In June the picture changed completely. Governor Rolph died and on June 6, candidate Merriam became Governor Merriam, and the host of candidates were now facing an incumbent in the election. On June 7 Raymond Haight was announced as the gubernatorial candidate on the Commonwealth ticket and the Reverend Robert Shuler started regular broadcasts on behalf of the party on Tuesdays and Thursdays over station KNX, Los Angeles. Haight participated in the first Thursday night broadcast and thereafter from time to time.[22]

Haight, who did a lot of flying that summer, flew to San Francisco to open campaign headquarters and begin his campaign in the northern part of the state. On the last day possible, he filed with the Progressive and Commonwealth parties, to insure a place on the ballot in November.[23] Since he was facing strong opposition on the Republican ticket from Governor Merriam, John R. Quinn, Los Angeles County Supervisor and official candidate of the Hearst and McClatchey papers, and C. C. Young, former governor and perennial candidate, he changed his official voting registration to the Commonwealth party. Haight said at the time there was nothing wrong with the Republican party except the leadership and expressed the feeling that the time was ripe for "new leadership and a progressive program."[24]

New Leadership Clubs were organized all over the state by Haight supporters.[25] Haight continued his attacks on the old-line politicians, proposed reducing the number of counties in California from fifty-five to five, and talked of relief to those in need by ending the destruction of food surpluses. This food ought to be distributed, "a destitute man does not compete with industry," said Haight.[26] He struck out again at the corporate interests declaring that they should be held accountable to the public for the actions which affect their employees.[27] He also attacked Governor Merriam, the Communists, and lack of interest by the people, as being responsible for the San Francisco general strike.[28]

Throughout the summer, groups of "non-politicos" flocked to Ray Haight's banner. Speaking to a group of students at the University of Southern California, his alma mater, Haight so communicated his enthusiasm that the college students agreed to go out and campaign for him during the summer months.[29] Clarence "Nibs" Price, coach at the University of California, got his baptism in politics handling Haight's campaign in Alameda County; R. E. Allen, famous Stanford halfback, became the southern California chairman; and Port Bovard, son of the former president of the University of Southern California, became his field manager in northern and central California.[30] Many oustanding athletes supported him including Garrett Arbelbide, famous USC end, Fred Funk, star back from UCLA, and Fidel LaBarba, former flyweight champion of the world.[31] There were some seasoned politicians backing Haight also. Tallant Tubbs, Senatorial candidate in 1932, in a three-cornered race between William Gibbs McAdoo, Robert Shuler, and himself, came out for Haight in late July. The two former campaign foes, Shuler and Tubbs formed quite a contrast in Haight's corner, for Tubbs was referred to by many newspapers as the "wettest" politician in the state while Shuler was reputedly the "driest."[32]

What might have become one of the most important events of this primary campaign, took place on August 2. The Executive Committee of the Progressive Party endorsed Hiram Johnson for the United States Senate and Raymond Haight for governor.[33] The primary campaign, now in its final month, had the old-line politicians satisfied that things were under control. Upton Sinclair had been unable to attract a single newspaper to his cause and in May had begun publishing his own, the *Epic News*. The Los Angeles *Herald Express* and the McClatchey papers were backing John R. Quinn, while the party regulars and the Los Angeles *Times* were solidly behind Governor Merriam. Raymond Haight was out organizing more New Leadership Clubs and laying down a real program for the people. He advocated farm relief by tax reduction, a Central Valley water project, urged business-like methods in the state, claimed the tax could be cut by 150 million, said that the state judiciary should be reorganized into two courts, and that relief for the unemployed should come about by establishment of a Department of State to aid co-operative unemployed groups.[34] Some of the intense dedication Haight had is found in the following quotation:

> For 10 years I have fought the racketeering politicians of this state, I wear the scars of these battles, I have suffered and paid for what has been called my impudence. With the help of civic-minded voters I expect to carry this battle to the highest realm of the entrenched political groups who have brought misery and destruction upon the state of California and this is one year when I believe the people will win.[35]

In the primary election on August 28, 1934, the Republican vote showed Haight a poor fourth—Merriam 346,329, C. C. Young 231,431, John R. Quinn 153,412, Haight 84,977. Haight received in addition 1,334 Progressive votes, 2,241 Commonwealth votes, and 882 Democratic write-in votes. Merriam also received 1,035 Democratic write-in votes and 963 Prohibition write-in votes. The big surprise of the election was the unsuspected strength of Upton Sinclair. Whereas Merriam had drawn only 346,329 votes of a total Republican vote of 816,149, Sinclair in outdistancing eight other candidates on the Democratic ballot had run up a total of 446,168 votes in a Democratic total of 852,138. The reporter who had forecast a three-way race for the governorship way back in April, now began to look like something of a prophet, for the lineup included Governor Merriam, Republican; Upton Sinclair, EPIC Democrat, and Raymond Haight, Commonwealth Progressive.[36]

As the "smoke" of the primary election cleared, and the major parties squared off for the final battle, Haight announced with conviction that he would not withdraw from the final contest. The regular Democrats were opposed to Sinclair but could not make up their minds whether to support Merriam or Haight. The Republican party regulars now made the attempt to influence Haight to withdraw. There were reports of his having been offered a position as Railroad Commissioner and rumors that he had been offered a senatorship when available. Haight bristled when reminded of these rumors and attacked the professional politicians and the Merriam candidacy, asserting that

> All such talk is sheer nonsense. It is typical of the old-line politicians to attempt such a compromise when they find their chances to continue to feed at the public trough being threatened. The only people who are jittery are the professional politicians who see their day is done.[37]

The election was now attracting nation-wide attention. The *Literary Digest* of September 8, 1934, expressed the idea that it was a clear cut case of "radical versus conservative" and that Raymond Haight offered a real liberal position in the center.[38]

Haight continued to campaign at a furious pace, flying about the state spending a few hours here and a few hours there.[39] It was the very time when a fighting Progressive party together with Haight's former supporters standing by him firmly could have split the state wide open and captured the governor's chair, that the support began to melt away. The Progressive party, meeting in Sacramento on September 20, after a particularly long convention session, broke up with a fist fight, refused to endorse the candidacy of Haight. The so-called Roosevelt-Garner Progressive League joined in the support of Merriam, mentioning the Socialistic-Communistic threat as the reason.[40] Tallant Tubbs, apparently feeling the pressure, gave up his post as Haight's manager in the north, saying, "It seems to me unfair to the state, to yourself, and to those who have worked faithfully for you, that you continue as a candidate."[41]

In late September the Republicans were firm in their conviction that the Haight candidacy would damage their cause. Both formal and informal offers were made to the Haight camp to withdraw his candidacy. The offers in general included all or some of the following: (1) any of the state's law business he wanted; (2) any state office he wanted; (3) the United States Senatorship in the event that a Senator died while Merriam was in office; (4) the governorship after Merriam's four years in office; (5) $100,000 in cash; (6) and the right to write into the Republican platform any plank he desired. All of these offers Ray Haight turned down flatly and replied that the state was in great need of social reform and this was the time for action.[42] He attacked the platforms of both parties, saying the Republican platform was "baloney" and the Democratic platform was nothing more than an "emasculated EPIC program."[43] Haight rejected the idea of class warfare at this point and appealed to the middle class voters not to be frightened by the attempt to create a "bug-a-boo" out of Sinclair.[44]

With the defeat of candidate John R. Quinn, a mild liberal, in the primaries, the McClatchey papers moved over to Haight; and throughout September and October the Sacramento *Bee*, the Fresno *Bee*, and the Modesto *Bee* reported the activities of candidate Haight in complete detail. This was one of the few organized public forces in the state which remained behind Haight to the finish. His candidacy was almost a classified secret in Los Angeles as the *Times* reported only derogatory articles about Haight and the only coverage he received was an occasional article in the *Daily News* which remained independent.[45] The *Times* reported with a great deal of gusto each time another group deserted the Haight candidacy and moved over behind Merriam, and on Thursday, October 25, attempted to deliver the *coup-de-grace* with a scathing editorial in which it typified the Commonwealth candidate as a "spectacle of poor sportsmanship, petty malice, frustrated ambition and irrepressed demagoguery." He was further identified as a valuable ally of Upton Sinclair, and the final sentence of the editorial good for a number of Merriam votes read, "So far as practical results are concerned a vote for Haight on November 6th will be a vote for Sinclair."

In the meantime Hollywood, dabbling in politics for the first time, was organized by the producers into a "vigilante" group for Merriam. Enforced contributions of one day's pay from stars, extras, and workers built a campaign chest which produced a novel campaign "gimmick." "Newsreels" were turned out by the numbers attacking Sinclair from every angle, as a "wild" man who wanted to divest property owners of their holdings, institute Communism and promote an agnostic campaign against religion. These "harmless" little productions, were distributed free of charge to theaters all over California and had a very telling effect.[46] Louis B. Mayer, president of the Republican campaign organization, refused to become excited over the Haight candidacy and was correct in his assumption that Haight would take more votes away from Sinclair than he would from Merriam.[47]

Merriam seldom referred to Haight, but felt it necessary to reply to some of the charges Haight had been making about a "payoff" taking place to the Republican campaign fund after the militia had been called out in the San Francisco strike in May. Haight had been making the charge that the campaign funds of Merriam had been enriched by $50,000, and Sinclair lends credence to the charge by referring to it in his book on the campaign.[48] Merriam never denied that the money had gone into his funds but assailed what he called "false statements and malicious innuendos. I am genuinely sorry that this young man has departed honesty of intentions and integrity of purpose."[49]

Two weeks before the election, Haight was again called upon publicly to withdraw. He refused to budge and stood behind his former declaration to remain in the contest until its conclusion. He further felt that President Roosevelt should not be asked to jeopardize the New Deal by supporting the Democratic candidacy of Sinclair, and he called on the President to stamp out the germ of civil war in California in which "class stood against class." He called for all progressives and liberals to unite and fight the entrenched wealth and reactionary forces which jeopardized future America.[50]

Sinclair had visited Franklin Roosevelt at Hyde Park, New York, in early September, and had elicited the "supposed" promise to support his candidacy. Both Merriam and Haight had fully endorsed the Townsend Pension Plan which F. D. R. regarded no less crazy than EPIC, however the pressure from California was such that the administration support was never delivered. One of the economic "brain trust," Raymond Moley, denounced the EPIC plan in a *Today* editorial in early October.[51] It was the beginning of an official line from the New Deal which ended in a firm "brush-off" on October 26 when the President was questioned by a reporter as to this "understanding" with Sinclair, a question which brought the reply, "I cannot take part in any state campaign."[52]

Just exactly what happened in those last "mad" weeks of the campaign is anybody's guess. According to Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., Bank of America's A. P. Giannini played the reading rôle in convincing Sinclair that he should withdraw in favor of Haight since he had no chance of defeating Merriam.[53] Sinclair tells the story that both he and Haight were in Sacramento and that he, being advised that Haight wanted to see him, went to talk with Haight, at which time they discussed a postcard poll that Haight had taken, showing that if Sinclair withdrew in his favor, the Commonwealth candidate would win. Sinclair claims that he considered the request strongly but that before the deal could be consummated, Haight was tricked into a statement to the press, and that he (Sinclair) had to repudiate the whole agreement in a mass meeting in Oakland.[54] Oscar A. Trippett, Haight's chief lieutenant in the Corporation Commissioner's office and a law partner of Haight's, recalls that he and Raymond Haight were called to Beverly Hills to talk with Sinclair, at which time they were told that Sinclair had decided that he could not win, and that he was withdrawing to keep Merriam from winning the election. This was changed two days later when Sinclair phoned Haight saying that "certain people" who had contributed very heavily to the Democratic campaign were unhappy enough over the withdrawal rumors to have threatened Sinclair's life, and that of his wife if he withdrew.[55]

One final round of intrigue remained for the last week. An "unofficial official" of the New Deal came to California in the person of J. F. T. O'Connor. He had meetings with Sinclair and Merriam and even spent two hours with Haight. The outcome was a secret truce with Merriam who told O'Connor that if he were elected he would say that "his victory could not be interpreted in any way as a defeat for the New Deal." Merriam now had both the Republican and Democratic regulars backing him for the general election.[56]

On November 6 of 1934 the voters went to the polls. 2,360,916 Californians voted, and Frank Merriam was retained in Sacramento. Merriam received 1,138,620 votes, Sinclair 879,537, Haight 302,519, the Communist candidate 5,826, and the Socialist candidate 2,947 votes.[57] The saga of a great campaign had been written into the annals of California political history, and a fighting candidate with great heart ended the Commonwealth-Progressive campaign by conceding to Governor Merriam at 10:30 on the evening of the sixth of November.[58]

## NOTES

1. Interview with Oscar A. Trippett, January 11, 1963; Sacramento *Bee*, September 2, 1947, p. 1.
2. Interview with Oscar A. Trippett, January 11, 1963; Sacramento *Bee*, September 2, 1947, p. 1; Los Angeles *Times*, May 4-13, 1933.
3. *Southern California Alumni Review*, XIII (January, 1932) 2; interview with Fulton W. Haight, January 5, 1963; interview with Oscar A. Trippett, January 11, 1963.
4. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (New York, 1960), p. 112; telephone call to the Reverend Robert P. Shuler, January 11, 1963; Upton Sinclair, *I Candidate and How I Got Licked* (Pasadena, 1934), p. 113.
5. Santa Ana *Register*, March 19, 1934; Marysville *Appeal-Democrat*, March 19, 1934; San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 19, 1934.
6. Los Angeles *Illustrated Daily News*, March 22, 1934 (hereinafter cited as *Daily News)*.
7. Ventura *Star*, March 22, 1934; Los Angeles *Western Sun*, March 23, 1934.
8. Ventura *Star*, March 22, 1934.
9. Los Angeles *Herald Express*, March 29, 1934.
10. Los Angeles *Post Record*, April 3, 1934; Los Angeles *Times*, April 4, 1934.
11. San Francisco *Call-Bulletin*, April 5, 1934.
12. San Diego *Tribune*, April 14, 1934.
13. Oakland *Tribune*, April 16, 1934.
14. Oakland *Tribune*, April 25, 1934; Modesto *Bee*, April 27, 1934.
15. Los Angeles *Daily News*, April 23, 1934.
16. Pasadena *Post*, April 23, 1934.
17. Stockton *Record*, May 16, 1934.

18. Sacramento *Bee,* May 7, 1934.
19. North Hollywood *Sun Record,* May 13, 1934.
20. Calexico *Chronicle,* May 16, 1934.
21. San Jose *Mercury Herald,* May 10, 1934.
22. Long Beach *Spokesman,* June 7, 1934; Monrovia *Journal,* June 21, 1934.
23. Oakland *Tribune,* June 24, 1934.
24. Los Angeles *Daily News,* June 26, 1934.
25. Huntington Park *Signal,* July 18, 1934.
26. Los Angeles *Daily News,* July 10, 1934.
27. Los Angeles *Daily News,* July 16, 1934.
28. Los Angeles *Daily News,* July 18, 1934.
29. Los Angeles *Examiner,* June 1, 1934.
30. San Francisco *Chronicle,* July 25, 1934; Los Angeles *Times,* June 18, 1934; Los Angeles *Independent News,* August 9, 1934.
31. Canoga Park *Star News,* August 23, 1934.
32. Los Angeles *Evening Post,* July 25, 1934; Los Angeles *Examiner,* July 17, 1934.
33. Ventura *Free Press,* August 2, 1934.

    It is the statement of Mr. Fulton Haight that R. L. Haight had the promise of the senior senator from Wisconsin, Robert LaFollette, to come out and campaign for him, this development never taking place of course.
34. Los Angeles *Daily News,* August 6, 1934.
35. Los Angeles *Daily News,* August 15, 1934.
36. *Statement of the Vote—State of California 1924-1934* [Primary elections, Frank C. Jordan], Secretary of State (Sacramento, 1924-1934), pp. 3-7.
37. Los Angeles *Daily News,* September 1, 1934.
38. *Literary Digest,* 118 (September 8, 1934), 7-8.
39. Los Angeles *Daily News,* September 21, 1934.
40. Los Angeles *Times,* September 27, 1934.
41. Los Angeles *Times,* September 26, 1934.
42. Los Angeles *Epic News,* September 24, 1934; Los Angeles *Daily News,* September 28, 1934; Los Angeles *Times,* September 30, 1934; Sinclair, *I Candidate and How I Got Licked,* pp. 113-114.
43. Long Beach *Press Telegram,* September 22, 1934.
44. Los Angeles *Daily News,* September 28, 1934.
45. Los Angeles *Daily News,* June 15-16, 1934.

    Charles E. Larson, "The Epic Campaign of 1934," *Pacific Historical Review,* XXVII (May, 1958), 147, claims that Boddy supported Sinclair in the campaign, I find no evidence of this.
46. Leo C. Rosten, *Hollywood* (New York, Harcourt Brace & Company, 1941), pp. 133-138.
47. Los Angeles *Daily News,* October 8, 1934.
48. Sinclair, *I Candidate and How I Got Licked,* p. 117.

49. Los Angeles *Daily News*, October 12, 1934.

50. Los Angeles *Daily News*, September 28, 1934.

51. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, p. 120.

52. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, pp. 119-120.

53. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, p. 121.

54. Sinclair, *I Candidate and How I Got Licked*, p. 184.

55. Interview with Oscar A. Trippett, January 11, 1963.

56. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, p. 121.

57. *Statement of the Vote—State of California 1924-1934* [General Election], Frank Jordan, Secretary of State (Sacramento, 1924-1934).

58. Interview with Fulton W. Haight, January 5, 1963.

# A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

### *By* Pamela A. Bleich

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The growth of research from 1899 to 1959 in California history at various California colleges and universities has been one of steady increase. The purpose of this study was to examine master's theses and doctoral dissertations at sixteen institutions (Chico State College, Claremont Graduate School, University of the Pacific, Mills College, Occidental College, Sacramento State College, San Diego State College, San Francisco State College, San Jose State College, Stanford University, University of California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, University of Redlands, University of San Francisco, University of Southern California, and Whittier College) which have required or require the submission of the formal research paper in partial fulfillment of degree requirements. These papers represented only the work done in history, social studies, or social science departments. Informal seminar papers were not considered a part of this study. Although some of the papers in this study have been published or are under consideration for publication, the inclusion of information regarding published theses lay outside the intent of this study. Thus, analysis was confined to manuscripts which were submitted to graduate schools for degree purposes.

The next issues of the *Quarterly* will present the findings of this study of graduate research. This issue will examine briefly the treatment of topics, historical periods, use of resources, and frequency and distribution of papers. This analysis will be followed by an annotated

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bibliography of the theses and dissertations done at Chico State, Claremont Graduate School, University of the Pacific, Mills College, and Occidental College. The succeeding issues of the *Quarterly* will include bibliographies of other papers done at the various colleges and universities. The final article in this series will be an author, subject, and title index to the 743 papers represented in the analysis and bibliography.

This study may be of use to students of California history in eliminating the duplication of work either at the same or different institutions, and in suggesting new fields of investigation which might be explored. Further, making available such a study and bibliography will help the researcher to more efficiently ferret out new leads to relatively unused source material.

The doctoral program has been, and is, confined to the University of California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, Claremont Graduate School, Stanford University, and the University of Southern California. The first dissertation on a California history topic in the state was done at the University of California at Berkeley in 1909. The next schools to grant a doctoral degree were Stanford in 1925, the University of Southern California in 1939, Claremont Graduate School and the University of California at Los Angeles in 1942.

The first master's thesis in the field of California history was presented at Stanford University in 1899. It was presented by a woman graduate student. The second paper was presented in 1902 and the third in 1909. Not until the 1920's did Stanford University begin to have annual graduate research, although such studies had been carried on at the University of California at Berkeley since 1902, and the University of Southern California since 1919. In the 1920's the College of the Pacific and Occidental College began graduate research in the field at the master's degree level. Claremont Graduate School, Mills College, and the University of Redlands began these studies in the 1930's.

During th 1940's Whittier College and the University of California at Los Angeles began to accept theses in California history for degrees, as did the University of San Francisco in the 1950's. It was in the 1950's too, that the state colleges of Chico, Sacramento, San Diego, and San Francisco began to grant a degree in social studies or in social science.

Table A shows that master's theses represented 87 per cent and doctoral dissertations represented 13 per cent of the 743 research papers.

The University of California at Berkeley ranked highest in the quantity of papers, with 282 master's theses and 57 doctoral dissertations, totaling 339 papers, or 45.63 per cent. The University of Southern California ranked next highest with 178 master's theses, and 11 doctoral dissertations, totaling 189 papers, or 25 per cent.

Table A

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS BY INSTITUTION AND BY DEGREE

| | Frequency | | | Percentage of School Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Institution | M.A. | Ph.D. | Total | M.A. | Ph.D. | Total |
| Chico | 6 | .. | 6 | 100.00 | .. | .81 |
| Claremont | 18 | 5 | 23 | 78.26 | 21.74 | 3.10 |
| Univ. of the Pacific | 21 | .. | 21 | 100.00 | .. | 2.83 |
| Mills College | 2 | .. | 2 | 100.00 | .. | .27 |
| Occidental | 24 | .. | 24 | 100.00 | .. | 3.23 |
| Sacramento | 15 | .. | 15 | 100.00 | .. | 2.02 |
| San Diego | 11 | .. | 11 | 100.00 | .. | 1.48 |
| San Francisco | 1 | .. | 1 | 100.00 | .. | .13 |
| San Jose | 3 | .. | 3 | 100.00 | .. | .40 |
| Stanford | 52 | 10 | 62 | 83.87 | 16.13 | 8.34 |
| Univ. Calif., Berkeley | 282 | 57 | 339 | 83.18 | 16.82 | 45.63 |
| Univ. Calif. at L.A. | 8 | 12 | 20 | 40.00 | 60.00 | 2.69 |
| Univ. of Redlands | 9 | .. | 9 | 100.00 | .. | 1.21 |
| Univ. of San Francisco | 12 | .. | 12 | 100.00 | .. | 1.61 |
| Univ. of So. Calif. | 178 | 11 | 189 | 94.17 | 5.83 | 25.44 |
| Whittier | 6 | .. | 6 | 100.00 | .. | .81 |
| Total | 648 | 95 | 743 | 87.21 | 12.79 | 100.00 |

An analysis of topics and the historical period treated by students revealed the most popular topics were: (1) biography, particularly of William Gwin, James Phelan, James Budd, James Rolph, Hiram Johnson, Upton Sinclair, Pío Pico, José and Gabriel Moraga, and Thomas O. Larkin, 13 per cent of the 743 papers; (2) histories of transportation and communication, particularly of the Southern Pacific, 8 per cent; (3) regional histories, 8 per cent; (4) studies of government or politics, 6 per cent; (5) histories of cities, towns, and communities, especially of Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco, 6 per cent. Other topics which have had considerable research emphasis were histories of religious or church groups, leaders, and edifices; histories of the water supply systems of Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco municipalities; the organization and production of the Modesto Irrigation District; descriptions of the Gold Rush immigrant trails (overland and isthmian), routes, techniques, and of the life in the mining camps; editions of the Gold Rush immigrant journals and diaries; accounts of the Civil War activities in the state; and, history of Oriental exclusion and prejudice, particularly of the American Japanese during World War II. Topic analysis showed the breadth of interest by graduate students to have covered all phases of California history—social, economic, political, geographical, and cultural.

Distribution of papers by historical period treated revealed (Table B) that the American Period, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had received the greatest consideration for investigation. No doubt the ability to do research in a foreign language and the distance the student had to travel for primary source material had influenced the graduate student's selection of a research topic.

TABLE B

FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS BY HISTORICAL PERIOD

| HISTORICAL PERIOD TREATED IN PAPERS | FREQUENCY AND DISTRIBUTION M.A. | PH.D. | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-Spanish and Spanish | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Spanish Period, 1542-1822 | 36 | 4 | 40 |
| Spanish and Mexican Periods | 18 | 1 | 19 |
| Mexican Period, 1822-1846 | 22 | 3 | 25 |
| Mexican and Transition Periods | 11 | 2 | 13 |
| Transition Period, 1846-1849 | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Transition and American Period, 19th Century | 60 | 10 | 70 |
| American Period, 19th Century, 1849-1900 | 141 | 26 | 167 |
| American Period, 1849-1959 | 112 | 20 | 132 |
| American Period, 20th Century, 1901-1959 | 93 | 16 | 109 |
| Combination of Three or More Periods | 148 | 12 | 160 |
| Total | 648 | 95 | 743 |

The truth of the assertion that the curriculums of certain colleges have emphasized or have de-emphasized certain areas in California history cannot actually be assessed. There are no curriculum studies available to make such a determination, nor does the study of the college catalogs since 1899 fully clarify the situation. But it can be assumed that the strong and varied interests of Herbert Bolton molded the early graduate studies program at the University of California at Berkeley, as did those interests of Owen C. Coy and George P. Hammond encourage the early studies at the University of Southern California. Hence, programs of graduate study in the field of California history have more or less developed around the interests of professors who were or are active in the field, and who were or are outstanding historians. Many students have been attracted to their institutions.

The next part of this article is an annotated bibliography of theses and dissertations found at the different California colleges and universities, covering the period of 1902 to 1959. There are two parts in each annotation, a descriptive note of contents and a descriptive note of source material, indicating the type of sources on which the investigation was based.

## CHICO STATE COLLEGE

1.0 Master's Theses.

1.1 Kutras, George. *Shasta, California—a History*. 1956.
From 1826 to 1888 covering: exploration by American trappers; founding of the town of Shasta; transportation to Shasta; social and cultural development and groups in Shasta; establishment of the county seat; exclusion of the Chinese from the mines; decline of the area due to the construction of the railroads. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

1.2 Lee, Glynn. *A Study of the Zenith of Revolutionary Socialism in California, Upton Sinclair and His Crusade of EPIC*. 1951.
A study of the evolution of the program, and the gubernatorial campaign of 1933. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

1.3 Neasham, Ernest. *Fall River Valley: an Examination of Historical Resources*. 1956.
An account of the Indians, American pioneers, Fort Crook, Lockhart Ferry, and the rise of communities in the Pitt River country in Shasta County. Sources: documents—government (state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

1.4 Osborn Arthur. *A History of the Biggs, Butte Area*. 1953.
Topics covered up to 1908: geography; Indians; Fernández land grant; discovery of gold; American settlers; boom towns; agricultural development; biological sketches of prominent pioneers; Portuguese immigration. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

1.5 Riley, Richard. *Upton Sinclair and the 1934 California Gubernatorial Elections.* 1952.

An analysis of: the methods used to defeat Sinclair's candidacy, and the reaction of the Democratic and Republican party leaders to the candidacy; comparison of the general election and primary vote between Northern and Southern California. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

1.6 Woodland, John. *The Location of the Chico Freeway: a Study of Community Dynamics.* 1958.

An investigation of the controversy—planning and construction—between state officials and the Chico citizens. Sources: documents—government (state, county, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

## CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL

2.0 MASTER'S THESES.

2.1 Allen, Paul. *Tourists in Southern California—1875-1903.* 1940.

An account of origin and growth of the tourist industry; why and how tourists came to Southern California; what hotels and resorts catered to tourists; what the tourist did for recreation. Sources: documents—government (state), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.2 Clark, Donavan. *A History of the Southwest Museum, 1905-1955.* 1956.

A story of the establishment, the beginnings, and the rise of the museum as a national scientific institution covering: progress of research, publications, administrations, financing, public services, and impressions on the culture of the community of Los Angeles. Sources: periodicals; secondary; other.

2.3 Cossentine, Erwin. *A Brief Survey of the Seventh-day Adventist Work in Southern California.* 1933.

A survey of the growth and development of the Seventh-day Adventist movement: evangelical, educational medicine, missionary activity, sabbath schools, and young adult activity. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); periodicals; secondary; other.

2.4 Domer, Marilyn. *The Zoot-Suit Riot: a Culmination of Social Tensions in Los Angeles.* 1955.

A study in wartime community inter-group relations of the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans as reflected in the riot of June, 1943. Sources: documents—government (state, county, city), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

2.5 Harbener, Lloyd. *The Military Establishments in Southern California during the Civil War.* 1952.

A description of the establishment of posts and camps, the organizing, the equipping, and the activities to maintain civil order, protecting immigrants, preventing Indian wars, and recruiting military personnel. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.6 Hopkinson, Shirley. *An Historical Account of the Evacuation, Relocation and Resettlement of the Japanese in the United States, 1941-1946.* 1951.
The author describes the background of the motives and procedures for the evacuation, relocation, and resettlement of aliens and American citizens of Japanese descent. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.7 Jacques, Janice. *The Political Reform Movement in Los Angeles, 1900-1909.* 1948.
An account of the early reform movements in Los Angeles to adopt a new charter with direct legislation and to eliminate Southern Pacific Railroad Company from city politics, which influenced state reform and the gubernatorial campaign of Hiram Johnson. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.8 Jones, Clark. *A History of the Development and Progress of Colton, California, 1873-1900.* 1951.
From the founding in 1875 to 1900: historical background of the locality and the social, economic, and cultural development of the community. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

2.9 Krenkel, John. *History of the Port of Los Angeles.* 1935.
Economic, geographical, political, and social aspects from discovery by the Spanish in 1542 to 1935 with emphasis on: development by federal government, Los Angeles city control and development, growth and role as a trade center for Southern California, and construction of the communication and transportation system of the port area. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.10 Merrill, James. *A History of the Los Angeles Steamship Company.* 1948.
A survey from 1920 to 1937 of: shipping conditions, creation of company, the San Francisco and Hawaiian services, various cruises, intercoastal trade, and consolidation with Matson Navigation Company. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

2.11 Pipkin, Charlotte. *A Discussion of the Evidence Relating to the Movement for the Formation of a Pacific Republic.* 1933.
Covering the years 1836 to 1862 this study covers: proposed union of Texas, Oregon and California; Mexican attitude toward foreigners; Frémont and the Bear Flag Revolt movement; statehood and independence; and, agitation in California for independence. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.12 Richards, Benjamin, ed. *The Diary of Stephen Chapin Davis, 1849-1854.* 1950.

An account of Davis' trip to the gold fields from New York, partnership in business in Coulterville, California, and return to New York. Davis' role as sailor, newspaperman, merchant is emphasized. Sources: manuscript; newspapers; secondary.

2.13 Schnitzler, Mario. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Henry Raup Wagner Collection of Early Hispanic-American History and Geography, Honnold Library, Claremont College, Claremont, California.* 1955.
The collection contains approximately 500 volumes, 40 volumes of manuscripts, and 50 packages of manuscripts and 629 maps on miscellaneous topics with emphasis on early America, Philippine Islands, and Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the East Indies; includes material used in Wagner's books on Spanish voyages to the northwest coast of America.

2.14 Teare, Robert. *California and the Tariff*. 1936.
From 1850 to 1936, a survey of legislative, political, and economic phases of California history in relation to the tariff as demanded by various pressure groups or in certain areas of the state's economy. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.15 Tewksbury, Albert, ed. *The Journal of Thomas Reber*. 1935.
The journal with notes, a record of the Reber Party's trip to California, 1854-1855. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscript; periodicals; secondary.

2.16 Thompson, Rolland. *The Railroad Boom in the Los Angeles Area, 1886-1890*. 1942.
Construction, routes, equipment, public opinion, iron mills, and the railroad's role in transcontinental lines during the time of the real estate boom. Sources: documents—government (county), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.17 Vaniman, Roscoe. *The Southern California Land Boom of 1887 with Special Reference to Los Angeles County*. 1940.
A description of the ups and downs of the land boom. Sources: documents—government (federal, county), nonpublic (business); periodicals; secondary.

2.18 Weston, Omer. *The Attitude of California Toward Intervention in Cuba and American Imperialism, 1895-1900*. 1951.
A survey of attitudes as reflected in California newspapers and magazines toward intervention in Cuba, and on imperialism at the time of the Spanish-American War. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; magazines; secondary.

2.500 DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS.

2.501 Brown, Giles. *The Admiral Line and Its Competitors: the Zenith and Decline of Shipping Along the Pacific Coast, 1916-1936*. 1948.
A study of the Pacific Steamship Line and the creation of a monopoly and

the events which brought its downfall. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.502 Clodius, Albert. *The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910.* 1953.
An investigation of the reform movement which ousted the Southern Pacific Railroad from city politics, culminating in the mayorship of George Alexander in 1910-1913, and its significance for the Progressive Party and the gubernatorial campaign of Hiram Johnson. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.503 Dunn, Cecil. *A History and Appraisal of the State Relief Administration of California.* 1942.
A two-volume work covering the years 1933-1940 describing the development of administrative methods used by the state to provide public service. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

2.504 Findley, James. *The Economic Boom of the Twenties in Los Angeles.* 1958.
A business history of the city of Los Angeles, 1919-1929, covering: real estate, advertising, industry, banking, stock market, transportation, harbor development, petroleum, and motion pictures. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city), nonpublic (business, organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

2.505 Wright, Doris. *A Yankee in Mexican California, Abel Stearns, 1798-1848.* 1954.
Stearns as a civic leader, cattle rancher, and real estate speculator—an influential agent upon the history of Southern California. Sources: documents—(provincial, federal, county); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

## UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

3.0 Master's Theses.

3.1 Bahnsen, Robert. *A Half-century of Lockeford, California: a Survey of Its History and the Contribution of Its Founder—Dean Jewett Locke.* 1953.
Contents: geography; Indians; American settlers; founding of the settlement of Locke; economic, social, educational development. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.2 Baldridge, Kenneth. *A History of the Mormon Settlement of Central California with Emphasis on New Hope and San Francisco, 1846-1857, and Modesto, 1920-1954.* 1956.
An account of the settlements emphasizing contributions to community progress. Sources: documents—nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.3 Bates, Jack. *The Southern Pacific Railroad in California Politics.* 1942.
The economic and political monopoly of Southern Pacific and its methods

in financing, land acquisition, and construction; includes reform efforts to curb Southern Pacific's political power as shown in the Los Angeles free harbor fight and the San Francisco graft prosecutions. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.4 Burns, Robert. *The First Half-century of the College of the Pacific.* 1946. The author discussed the origins, organization, campi, presidents, etc., 1850-1896. Sources: documents—nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.5 Dennis, John. *From Whaling Days to Cannery Row: a Survey of Some Aspects of the Fishing Industry at Monterey and Vicinity from 1854-1920.* 1945.
A study of the industry—its growth and decline; whales and whaling; fish; shellfish; fishermen's conflicts; legislation; strikes; fishing methods; sardine fishing; canning methods, etc. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.6 Elliott, Janet. *The History of the Seat of Government of California.* 1942.
An account of the moving of the location of the capital from 1850-1852, the final selection of Sacramento in 1852, and the various recommendations for relocation, 1852-1940. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.7 Gordon, Robert. *The EPIC Movement and the California Election of 1934.* 1957.
The significance of the movement and Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial campaign from the Democratic state convention to the primaries to final defeat. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.8 Graham, Robert. *An Epic of Water and Power: a History of the Modesto Irrigation District.* 1946.
A brief history of the creation of the district, the construction of dams and reservoirs, and generation and distribution of power production. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

3.9 Gwinn, Herbert. *The History of Sutter's Fort, 1839-1931.* 1931.
Retells the building of the fort, the daily activities of the fort during Sutter's time, the decline and restoration of the buildings, with emphasis on its role in California history. Sources: periodicals; secondary.

3.10 MacKenzie, Kenneth. *The Russians in California (Prior to 1842).* 1926.
An account of the Russian trading contacts with California, and settlement at Fort Ross to further trading activities. Sources: secondary.

3.11 Miller, Mervyn. *A History of the Secularization of the Missions of California.* 1932.
A study of the conversion of the missions to parish churches, the release of

the neophytes from mission supervision, and the release of most of the mission lands for private use. Sources: manuscripts; secondary.

3.12 Milnes, Harold. *A History of the Japanese in California.* 1926.
A discussion of the economic, social, and political aspects of the Japanese in California. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.13 Ochs, Daniel. *A Study of Religious Legislation in California.* 1934.
Extent and scope of religious legislation from 1846-1930. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.14 Pagliarulo, Carol. *Basques in Stockton: a Study of Assimilation.* 1948.
A survey of social, economic, cultural assimilation of ethnic identity of 219 people of first and second generation. Sources: periodicals; secondary; other.

3.15 Roberts, Doyle. *A History of the Reclamation of the Delta Lands of California.* 1951.
Contents: geography; discovery and exploration; pattern of development and use of delta lands; flood control and the Central Valley Project. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.16 Thurman, A. Odell. *The Negro in California before 1890.* 1945.
The role of the Negro in Spanish, Mexican, and early American California life, and the fight for civil rights. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

3.17 Tremain, Harry. *The History of Tuolumne County during the Gold Rush.* 1947.
Topics covered: various mines; transportation to the mines; mining methods; foreigners in the mines; justice; entertainment. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.18 Tully, Jean. *The Public Life and Achievements of James Duval Phelan.* 1935.
An account of Phelan's mayorship of San Francisco and civic leadership, 1897-1901, and United States Senatorship. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.19 Wood, Crispin. *A History of Mount Whitney.* 1955.
A history covering: geology; flora and fauna; archaeology; discovery and exploration; scientific expeditions; ascents; promotion in motion pictures and literature. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

3.20 Wood, Ethelyn. *Special Phases of the Early History of Calaveras County, California.* 1947.
From discovery of gold in 1848 to final location of the county seat at San Andreas in 1866 covering: mining camps; division of county; boundary questions; miners' justice; mining methods, etc. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscript; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

3.21 Wood, Richard. *The History of the Owens Valley and the Los Angeles Water Controversy.* 1934.
An inquiry into the plans, construction, and socio-economic-political factors of the projects. Sources: documents—government (state, city); secondary.

## MILLS COLLEGE

8.0 Master's Theses.

8.1 Nelson, Mary. *Theodore Judah and the Central Pacific Railroad.* 1942.
Judah as organizer and engineer. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

8.2 Parker, Edna. *The Influence of the Southern Pacific Railroad on Settlement in Southern California, 1876-1890.* 1936.
A study of Southern California's agitation for rapid transportation and the Southern Pacific's construction plans, land promotion schemes, and colonization program. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

## OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE

9.0 Master's Theses.

9.1 Angell, John. *Banking as an Economic Barometer in California.* 1928.
A survey of banking conditions, methods, legislation, and regulation from 1848-1928. Sources: documents—government (state); periodicals; secondary.

9.2 Bourne, Arthur. *Some Major Aspects of the Historical Development of Palm Springs between 1880 and 1938, and in Addition a Continuation of the Historical Changes in the Indian Land Problems and Four Cultural Institutions until 1948.* 1953.
Topics covered: geography; Indians; Indian land problems; founding of Palm Springs; agricultural and cattle ranching development; early American settlers; development of schools, churches, museum, library, incorporation and city government. Sources: documents—government (federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.3 Crawford, Doris. *A Brief History of the Japanese in California.* 1946.
From 1851 to 1945 covering early immigration and development of anti-Oriental agitation; with emphasis on wartime evacuation and relocation at Manzanar and Tule Lake, and resettlement after the war, 1941-1945. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.4 Dumke, Glenn. *The Growth of the Pacific Electric and Its Influence upon the Development of Southern California to 1911.* 1939.
The political, social, and economic effects upon the greater Los Angeles area. Sources: documents—government (federal, city); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.5 Findley, James. *The Military Contributions of California to the Civil War.* 1948.
The story of the efforts to keep California in the Union, 1860-1866; military action against the Indians to open new areas for settlement, protection of the state from violence of secessionist outbreaks; activities of California volunteers in the Union Army in the East and of the volunteers in Utah and the Southwest. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.6 Fisher, Robert. *The Work of the Committee on the Revision of the Civil Service Provisions of the Los Angeles County Charter.* 1939.
A record of the committee's creation, an evaluation of the investigation and its effect upon the public service, 1937-1938, by a member of the committee. Sources: documents—government (federal, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.7 Flandreau, John. *The Los Angeles Aqueduct: a Study of Its Significance in the History of the City of Los Angeles.* 1947.
An account of the growth of the city, 1864-1947: its uses of water, state of water supply, the proposal and construction of the aqueduct, controversies, and changes in the city's economic and social structure and relationships with other parts of California. Sources: documents—government (federal, county, city), nonpublic (organization, business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.8 Green, Edith. *California during the Civil War Period.* 1930.
The events which helped to keep California in the Union and a record of the services performed by the California volunteers for the Union cause. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.9 Hill, Harlan. *History of the Ridge Route.* 1955.
Development of a transportation route over the Tehachapi Mountains and Pass, 1772-1953. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspaper; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.10 Hopmans, Walter. *A History of Dentistry in Southern California.* 1947.
The origins and development of dentistry to 1945, covering: the practices and remedies of the Indians, the Spanish, and the early Americans; the founding of the dental college at the University of Southern California; various organizations, and laws and legislation. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county, city), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.11 Kassell, Lola. *A History of the Government of Los Angeles, 1781-1925.* 1929.
Growth and its effect on development of city government from alcalde rule of the Spanish and Mexican periods to the transition to American rule.

Sources: documents—government (state, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.12 Langsdorff, William. *The Real Estate Boom of 1887 in Southern California.* 1932.
A description of the causes and effects, 1881-1890. Sources: documents—government (county); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.13 Lewis, James. *An Historical Survey of Radical Sectarianism in Los Angeles.* 1950.
An analysis of conditions and bases of cult appeal with emphasis on some representative cults; includes background in religious experimentation in the United States. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.14 McRae, Allan. *The Rise of the Progressive Movement in the State of California.* 1923.
An account of the times and the rise of the movement touching on the San Francisco graft cases, the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, and the gubernatorial campaign and election of Hiram Johnson. Sources: documents—government (state, county); periodicals; secondary.

9.15 Maynard, Douglas. *British Pioneers in California.* 1948.
Role of British immigrants in the settling of California, 1814-1848, with a background of British contacts since the time of Drake. Sources: documents—government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

9.16 Moninger, Mildred. *Federal Aid to the Central Pacific Railroad.* 1931.
A study of the nature and extent of aid under the acts of 1862, 1864, 1865, and 1866. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.17 Rambo, Anne. *A Study of Placer Mining in California.* 1928.
Mining from 1826-1928 with emphasis on gold discoveries and mining methods, placer and hydraulic. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.18 Reed, Wave. *Problems in City and County Consolidation in Los Angeles.* 1930.
An analysis of trends, need, problems, and suggestions for consolidation as compared to other such consolidations in the United States. Sources: documents—government (state, city), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.19 Ritter, Lloyd. *The Chronicle, Pasadena's First Newspaper, and Its Participation in the Growth of the Community.* 1950.
A record of the founding of the newspaper, its editorial policies, and its contributions to the growth of Pasadena, 1883 to 1921. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

9.20 Rozell, Arthur, and David Wigglesworth. *Springs of Water.* 1953.
History of the development of water resources in California, 1850 to 1950, with emphasis on Los Angeles and the Bay Area in Northern California.

Sources: documents – government (federal, state, county, city), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.21 Scales, Priscilla. *The Development of the Office of Governor in California.* 1935.
The development of the legal powers and duties of the governorship, 1849-1933. Sources: documents – government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

9.22 Vernon, Charles. *A History of the San Gabriel Mountains.* 1952.
Covers approximately the period 1700-1952: geography; Indians; American exploration; American settlement; development of resort areas; logging; establishment of a national forest. Sources: documents – government (federal, county); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.23 Woods, Betty. *An Historical Survey of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Southern California.* 1950.
The regional WCTU's founding, its strength in California politics, and its fights for the status of women and women's rights, as a reflection of the national movement, 1883 to 1949. Sources: documents – nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

9.24 Wride, Rosalie. *A History of the Long Beach Oil Fields.* 1949.
Emphasis is placed on the search and discovery of the Signal Hill oil fields and the commercial and industrial growth of Long Beach, 1890-1947. Sources: documents – government (federal, state, city), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

# A Gold Rush Letter from A. C. Edwards

*Edited, with an Introduction, by*

RICHARD P. SHERMAN

A. C. EDWARDS made the trip from New York to California in 1852. Coming by way of Panama, he wrote about the unpleasant, crowded, sickly conditions on shipboard, the unappetizing, distasteful food, as well as the exhausted state of the new arrivals in San Francisco.

Edwards sailed from New York on February 24 to Havana, then changed vessels to Panama. The accommodations were bad, the berths having been oversold, and the food like swill. There is no account given of the trip across the Isthmus, except that on the trip from Panama to California it was "very sickly on board." Even so he found it better than the Atlantic journey, arriving April 1 at San Francisco.

In the city the newcomer found the main topic of discussion was the question of Chinese labor in the mines. He describes the problem but is sympathetic to the Chinese.

This informative letter is today in the possession of the Edwards family and thanks for permission to use it are due to Miss Joyce Ellen Edwards, Mr. Franklin Leach Edwards, and Mrs. Ann A. Starnes.

U. S. Hotel, Sacramento City, May 16, 1852

Dear Family and Inquiring Friends,

You doubtless have heard of my arrival at San Francisco before this time. I arrived at San Francisco on the first of April. We sailed from Panama on the 12th of March in the steamship *Panama* and after a passage of about nineteen days arrived at San Francisco. The *Panama* is a ship of eleven hundred tons. They crowded on her about seven hundred passengers. It was very sickly on board but only one died before we landed, but a great many went ashore sick with the Panama Chagres[1] or ship fever.[2] There were some most starved out before we landed; however, our living on this side the Isthmus was much better than we got on the Atlantic side.

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RICHARD P. SHERMAN is a graduate of The Citadel, the University of California at Los Angeles, and the University of Southern California. Currently, Dr. Sherman is an instructor in history at El Camino College.

We sailed from New York on the 24th of February on the steamer *Georgia*. Our living on the *Georgia* was rather hard as I called it. About all we had was salt pork, wormy sea bread,[3] and tainted salt beef, and occasionally a dish of lobscouse.[4] If it had been cooked in any kind of a clean or decent manner we could of got along with it very well, but it reminded me of some old farmer boiling up swill for hogs, and it was certainly fed to us more like hogs than anything else.[5]

However, you need not be alarmed about any of the Dansville boys, for they generally look out for themselves wherever they are. We bought provisions enough in N. Y. to stand us through, with what we got out of the cabin, so we got along very well. We were transferred from the steamer *Georgia* on [to] the *Ohio* at Havana. We then hoped for better living, but we were sadly disappointed as it was worse than ever.

But in performing this trip to the Isthmus but few die or suffer much, but [in] the hurry and excitement of crossing the Isthmus but few think of the change of climate, diet, etc. Those going through from day to day are very apt to overdo themselves and get their blood heated up, and almost without inquiry with regard to accommodations on the steamer. They get aboard as soon as possible so as to be sure and not be left. Often from seven to ten hundred persons are crowded together within the narrow limits of a steamer, and, on calling for their berths alloted on their tickets, it cannot be found or has been sold to a half a dozen different ones or at best is nothing but a kind of a shelf and in the part of the ship where they can't ventilate or purify the air. Then ensue jangles and quarrels for berths and food with occasional[6] apportioning of stinking beef, wormy rice, sour sea bread, scanty water, etc. There is, however, no reprieve and passengers, particularly in the steerage, are under the necessity of taking such as they can get or none at all. The effect of all this is that of those leaving Panama a great share of them die and are buried in the sea. Of those who are fortunate enough to arrive in San Francisco nearly one half are in an exhausted state, and [in] the excitement of landing and getting to the mines, etc., it rarely fails to prostrate [even] the most strong and robust persons. A good many go into the hospitals at San Francisco, probably the majority of them to be carried from there to the graveyard. This is, in my opinion, one great reason of so many dying on the way and after they arrive in this country.

The principal discussion in the city and the mines at the present time is the question of permitting Chinese labor in the mines. I should think there was more Chinese in the country than any other one nation. Although their people appear to be peaceable and honest in their mining business, and less trouble than some other portion of the mining community, still there appears to be a dislike to them for the reason, I suppose, they think[7] the country is getting too full of them, and it will be apt to make wages low and mining poor as a good share of the mines are full of them now. The miners in some part of the gold districts have already drove a number of them from their claims and taken possession of them themselves. Meetings have been held in different places in the mines and in this city for the purpose of driving them from the mines entirely, but this does not seem hardly right to me.

If I have any friends unfortunate enough to have the California fever, I would say to them never to come in the steerage; at all events not when there's much of a rush. I have been in perfect health ever since I left home and think the climate will agree with me. We have had very cold weather for the last week or two. There was a report afloat this morning that the cholera was in town. I don't know how true it is, but it appears to be very healthy here at present.

I received a letter from you and James this morning and was very glad to hear from home. I did not get any letter from you by the mail before this. I have wrote to you by every steamer and you must do the same by me. Give my love to all of our folks and also to Leasell and tell him to write me. Show this letter [to] Maxwell and tell him he may draw it off, correct it, and have some of it published if he thinks proper, as it may be of some benefit to those who intend to come to California in the steerage. For my part, I had rather be in prison three months than to try it over again. Still, it may be much better when there is not such a rush.[8]

Yours with much love,
A. C. Edwards

## NOTES

1. Malaria.
2. Typhus.
3. Ship biscuit; hardtack.
4. A stew.
5. On the left side of the first page of the letter there are three marginal notes, as follows:
   [1] Give my love to Jare and Nate and tell Nate to write.
   [2] Eliza, if I don't go into business for myself by the first of next month I will send one hundred dollars. A.C.E.
   [3] Tell Pa I will send him some money before fall.
6. The following note is on the left margin of the second page:
   When you write let me know if you get my papers and letters regularly or not. I have sent papers to most every[body] in Dansville.
7. There are two notes on the left margin of the third page:
   [1] I can't send the gold dollars; there is four shillings premium on them.
   [2] You will see in the engraving of the levee the U. S. Hotel; it is marked with ink.
8. There are five notes on the margins of the final page of the letter, one at top, two on the left side, and two at the bottom, as follows:
   [1] If you can read this letter you can do better than I can.
   [2] This is the seventh letter I have sent you. I have received two from

you. I send you a paper every mail; the one I send you now cost four bits or 4/-

[3] George Woods is quite smart and into work. Martha sends her love to you and the rest of the family. She wants you [to] kiss Jutty for her. She wishes that you and Jutty was here, but she is afraid you would not stand to get here.

[4] Eliza, I will send you three gold dollars; one apiece for you, Jutty, and Ally. Send me some Dansville paper. Ed Smith's finger is not well yet; he has been laid up three weeks. Albert.

[5] I don't think it would be worthwhile to have any of this published but hand it to Maxwell and let him read it. Give my love to Mrs. Maxwell and Foote's folks, if they are there. A. C. E.

# New Books

*Traveler's Guide Across the Plains Upon the Overland Route to California.* By P. L. Platt and N. Slater. Introduction by Dale Morgan. (San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1963. 60 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by Everett Gordon Hager.

One of the rarest and more distinguished of guidebooks, *The Traveler's Guide,* copyrighted on January 16, 1852, has been reissued for the first time.

Glen Dawson in his article, *Only Known Copies of Emigrant Guides* (Los Angeles Corral—Westerners Brand Book Number 7, 1957), described the Platt-Slater *Guide,* as "known in a single, imperfect copy in the Thomas Streeter Collection. It was copyrighted in 1852 in California, but either was not printed until later, or there were two editions, as this copy mentions a bridge in the exterior which indicates that it must have been printed after 1852. This copy has no title page, lacks pages 1 to 16, and has just the remnant of a map. . . . It later came into the possession of Henry R. Wagner who sold it to Thomas Streeter."

Now some six years later, two other copies have been discovered, in far better condition, completing the gaps in the earlier known copy—the missing sixteen pages and incomplete map.

P. L. Platt was the first overland emigrant, so states Morgan in his *Introduction,* that historians can name, who started in 1849, wintered at Fort Laramie, and went on to California the following year. With his family, he drove an ox team from Rock Island, Illinois, to Placerville, California. He had a roadometer attached to his wagon and kept records with the intent of publishing a guidebook. Platt was a gifted man, qualified to practice law and medicine alike.

N. (Nelson) Slater met Platt and entered California in the spring of 1851. Evidence points that collaboration upon this particular *Guide* could not have begun earlier than the summer of '51. Slater, a school teacher and minister, arrived in Placerville in 1851 and remained a resident of Sacramento County until his death in 1886. He served as county superintendent of schools in 1858-9. The first California book entered for copyright in California was entered by Nelson Slater on October 25, 1851, entitled *The Fruits of Mormonism* and published by Harman and Springer at Coloma. It was on January 16, 1852, that Platt and Slater entered for copyright *The Traveler's Guide.*

The *Guide's* advice regarding care of livestock, and the storing and planning of provisions and fire-arms, tells all too graphically the ordeals to be faced by the prospective emigrant. Descriptions of various streams and rivers to be encountered are of considerable interest in the light of modern-day transportation methods. On reading admonitions concerning poisonous, bitter, or acid waters while crossing the continent, one begins to appreciate anew the almost intolerable conditions faced so bravely by the novice traveller. A new respect will be gained by the uninitiated to Western lore regarding the effort and drive of these men and women, searching not just for gold, but for that precious "elbow-room" and the land of new beginnings.

"A New Pass Through Nevada as of November 25, 1851," relayed by one L.

(Lorenzo) Dow in the New York *Tribune,* bears the comments and criticisms of Platt and Slater. The latter admonished their readers that although they included the Dow item, it had not been proved an accepted fact and warned readers against attempting untried routes. They included the "New Pass" reprint in their *Guide* for the benefit of their readers as additional information concerning the "new pass" opened by Jim Beckwourth in the fall of 1851. This provides additional interest as also the "Recommendations" from those who had traveled on the entire route as described in *The Traveler's Guide.*

Wright Howe's *U. S. Iana (1650-1950),* 1962 edition, placed a value symbol "dd" after the Platt and Slater entry, denoting "superlatively rare, almost unobtainable, worth $1,000.00 and upwards." Now through the able workmanship and zeal of Warren R. Howell, Barbara Holman, and Dale L. Morgan, a very splendid reproduction can be in the hands of the fortunate book collector or public library.

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Everett G. Hager, coauthor of *The Historical Society of Southern California Bibliography and Topical Index, 1884-1957,* and of the *Cumulative Index — Westways-Touring Topics, 1909-1950,* is a student of Overland Journals and Mormon activities in the West.

*Jew and Mormon.* By Rudolph Glanz. (New York, Waldon Press, 1963. 379 pp. No price indicated.) Reviewed by Fred Krinsky.

One of the most widespread witticisms in the western section of the United States derives from the fact that Utah is the only place in this country where the Jew is a gentile. In a highly informative, well-documented as well as entertaining study, Dr. Glanz, who has already established a reputation for this sort of specialized research, traces the Jewish-Mormon relationship from its inception through the early years of its growth in Utah and California. Although there is no formal division as such, the book's twenty-three chapters are, in effect, divided into five sections. The first six chapters deal with the historical birth and philosophical concepts of Mormonism. Chapters seven through fifteen are mainly concerned with the doctrinal relations between Judaism and Mormonism as they developed in the latter movement. This, in turn, is followed by three fascinating descriptive chapters relating to the actual physical contacts between the groups. The author, in two brief chapters, then proceeds to a summary of the Mormon battle for statehood and the conflicts pertaining thereto. He concludes with three chapters on the Jews and Mormons as seen in their respective presses and American general public opinion.

The Jewish communities in North America have obviously developed group relations with both other immigrant peoples as well as with groups newly formed here on native soil. The bases of these relationships, have, however, varied from group to group. Thus, with the Germans it was, to a large degree, merely a continuation of a milieu that already existed in Europe. On the other hand, associations with the Irish developed along lines peculiar to the new American surroundings. The determining element characterizing the Jewish contacts with the Mormons was the environment of religious ideas within which it was shaped. The author continually reminds us, and correctly so, that considering the residual Old World antagonisms towards the Jew which still prevailed among the vast majority of Americans of all social groups, the emerging and continuing healthy relationship between Jew and Mormon was nothing short of miraculous. Not only were very weak echoes of the historic Christian-Jewish struggle to be found in the new religion, but, on the contrary, the Mormons discovered in the Biblical period of the Jewish people a source of great meaning for themselves. As a result, they found themselves totally reassessing historic Judaism and from its midst the Mormons not only established models of behavior and formed "personality images" but actually created the whole structure of their new religious society. The pillars of their new religious experience, Revelation, Prophecy, and Priesthood were traced to their Biblical origin. Certainly in all the aspects of this strange and wonderful relationship, Mormonism appears both as the conqueror of older European Christian inhibitions *vis-a-vis* Judaism and as a precursor of a later general American attitude. To quote Dr. Glanz: "The fact that the new religious establishment of the new group known as Mormons could contribute to the consolidation, socially and spiritually, of the oldest European religious community in the New World represents one of the most astonishing phenomena in the history of ideas."

Although the author makes it clear (particularly in his middle chapters) that life and doctrinal position did not always concur several unique and basic facts clearly emerge. First, the position of the Jews in Utah was in between the older Christian denominations and the new Mormons. Second, the Jews were not members of the general united Christian front formed to combat the Mormons. Third, in the territory of Mormon colonization the Jews were, truly, considered among the gentiles. Fourth, notwithstanding this "exclusion" and despite occasional friction there was no basic Jewish-Mormon quarrel.

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Fred Krinsky, a doctoral graduate from the University of Pennsylvania, is both a political scientist and a rabbi. Author of numerous books on political science and on Judaism, Dr. Krinsky is currently an associate professor of political science at the University of Southern California.

*Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543.* By Richard Greenleaf. (Washington, D.C., Academy of American Franciscan History, [1963]. 155 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by John M. O'Brien.

This slim volume chronicles the inquisitorial activities of Fray Juan de Zumárraga, who directed the Holy Office in Mexico from 1536-43.

In a well-organized fashion Mr. Greenleaf discusses the initial operation of the Inquisition in Mexico, and the intellectual preparation of Zumárraga for his office. He then offers informative descriptions of Zumárraga's efforts to uproot Indian idolatry, and prevent the spread of heretical ideas and immoral influences.

The brief chapter on Zumárraga and the Jews is of special interest, for it catalogues the important accusations made against the *Judaizantes*. These sections offer detailed accounts of specific cases, are rich in manuscript references, and amply demonstrate the author's intensive labors in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.

The introductory chapters are somewhat less satisfactory than the remainder of the text. One reason is Greenleaf's failure to define terms, another is his inclination to pass moral judgments. The term medieval is employed throughout the earlier portion of the book to describe individuals and their attitudes. It remains undefined, but is used pejoratively to suggest a rather limited outlook. Zumárraga and the Society of New Spain are viewed as distinctly "medieval," and in this the author sees the root of considerable trouble. Since Zumárraga and his fellow clergymen could not emancipate themselves from "medieval" lines of thought they failed to create the "perfect Christian society" which was possible in New Spain. A considerable reservoir of utopian literature existed, but the clerical mind refused to apply utopian theories in the newly discovered territories. To Greenleaf's mind "a single ingredient made the Mexican Utopia impossible: the lack of elasticity in the clerical mind to absorb new ideas and integrate them into its thinking." Instead clerics utilized the coercive power of the Church to preserve tradition and orthodoxy.

The final chapter is paradoxical, for the conclusions are at variance with the evidence offered. Greenleaf characterizes the Mexican Inquisition as an "unsatisfactory institution," a "haphazard device," and a "reprehensible phase of the spiritual conquest of Mexico." It is also admitted that Zumárraga was "not able to eradicate common Spanish and Indian superstitious practices and beliefs." In spite of these indictments the inquisitor is described as one of the foremost spiritual conquerors of Mexico, whose efforts "were comparable to those of Mendoza as founder of the viceregent system in the Spanish empire of Mexico." This conclusion is unwarranted on the basis of Greenleaf's own analysis and it results in confusion regarding the author's point.

Nevertheless, Greenleaf has produced a useful and interesting monograph.

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John M. O'Brien, a graduate of Queen's College and of Columbia University, and an instructor in history at Fordham University, is presently doing research on the Spanish Inquisition.

*Great Day in the West: Forts, Posts, and Rendezvous Beyond the Mississippi.* By Kent Ruth. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 308 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Seemingly the plethora of new books on Western history has made finding an appropriate title progressively more difficult. Perhaps the time has come to have specialists whose major function is to concoct titles that are both sufficiently descriptive as to give some hint of the contents of a work, and at the same time catchy enough to arouse reader interest. In Kent Ruth's book it hardly seems possible that the former of these criteria was considered, for neither the title nor the subtitle seem at all appropriate for the attractive contents of the book. There is no "Great Day" and in many cases there were not even very specific great days involved. The subtitle of "Forts, Post and Rendezvous Beyond the Mississippi" is misleading, since a substantial minority of the book concerns geologic phenomena, prominent geographical landmarks, towns, mineral areas, Indian villages, etc., as well as the "advertised" items.

Notwithstanding this serious defect, the book is worthwhile and very well presented. It contains, as the author proposes in his preface, a series of thumbnail sketches of 147 of the great frontier sites of the Trans-Mississippi West. One page on each is dedicated to selected facts of local history, frequently quoting the observations of early visitors; while a second page contains two, and occasionally three, visual aids in interpreting the site involved. Some illustrations are reproductions of old drawings, maps, or artifacts; others are later photographs; while some present modern photographs of what has been done by way of restoration or lack thereof. Particularly interesting are those occasions where the author provides the reader with both an early drawing and a subsequent photograph from the same vantage point of the area involved, thereby giving art historians some valuable clues as to validity of early western art and artists.

California comes in for a full share of the 147 items treated with some ten sites, and is second only to Montana which is eleven times honored. One might question the method of selection, but as the author indicates that he has chosen on the basis that they are "*among* the most important sites," there is no room for argument. Kent Ruth indicates assistance from many prominent Western American historians and local history fans. Consequently, sites chosen for California are: Missions San Diego and Santa Barbara; the old Spanish towns of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Monterey; Francis Drake's landing place; Russian Fort Ross; John Sutter's New Helvetia at Sacramento; Sutter's Mill, the gold discovery site at Coloma; and Ft. Tejon on Highway 99.

Unfortunately there are some mistakes in the California section. It will be news to all that Fray Marcos de Niza was the first to visit California and San Diego in 1539. Also strange is the classification of Bouchard as a "French" pirate, rather than an Argentinian privateer; that Portolá was the first to see San Francisco Bay rather than Ortega; and that Yerba Buena (really founded in 1842) was an isolated outpost for seventy years, whereas it lasted less than a decade and became a part of greater San Francisco. Possibly a second check with his local informant might have eliminated these factual errors. However, the rich treasury of illustrations and the wide range of items treated make this a book worth owning.

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*Jim Bridger*. By J. Cecil Alter. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. 358 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John A. Hawgood.

This extremely robust biography of one of the most famous of the mountain men was first published in 1925. It was reissued with addenda in 1950. The inclusion of so many tall tales related by or about Mr. Bridger (in the title of the earlier editions he was called "James," as if he were somebody's butler, but in this new edition he is, more recognisably, "Jim") was beginning to make the book top-heavy. Its 601 pages of 1950 have now, under the celebrated Lottinville pruning hook, been reduced to a handier 358, and the new edition is a much better book. Already a classic, it now moves into the ranks of the masterpieces of mountain men literature. Would that all of this reckless breed had been served so well by their biographers as Mr. Alter serves Jim!

Orphaned at 13, apprenticed to a St. Louis blacksmith at 14, young Jim Bridger was all of eighteen years and three days old when, on March 20, 1822, he had read out to him (for he could not yet read, and never became adept at the art) Andrew Henry's and William H. Ashley's celebrated advertisement in a St. Louis newspaper "To ENTERPRISING YOUNG MEN..." Another enterprising young man to hear and hearken to that siren song was one Jedediah Strong Smith, who headed west at the same time as Jim as a member of Major Henry's fur-hunting party, "a rifle in one hand and a bible in the other." Jim had only the rifle, but it was a trusty snub-nosed Hawken, and, with that, the poor unlettered orphan was ready for any wilderness.

Forty years later Jim was still on the trail, by this time the most experienced mountain man and guide in all the West and one of the very few survivors of all those enterprising young men. On October 17, 1862, another eighteen-year-old adventurer Caspar Collins (son of Colonel William C. Collins, U. S. Army) wrote home to Mother from Fort Laramie:

> We had Major Bridger with us as guide. He knows more of the Rocky Mountains than any living man. He is totally uneducated but speaks English, Spanish and French equally well, besides nearly a dozen Indian tongues...He has been in many Indian battles and has several arrow wounds (p. 301).

One of those arrows, long ago, had been extracted on the Oregon Trail by Dr. Nathaniel Whitman himself, the Rev. Samuel Parker marvelling at Jim's unflinching fortitude during the operation (p. 152). Young Caspar unforgettably describes fifty-eight-year-old Jim Bridger (to whom, as the context makes clear, this apparently generalised description specifically applies):

> These old Mountaineers are curious-looking fellows. They nearly all wear big white hats with beaver around it; a loose white coat of Buck or antelope skins, trimmed fantastically with beaver-fur; buffalo breeches with strings hanging for ornaments along the sides; a Mexican saddle, mocassins and spurs, with rowels ten inches long, which jingle as they ride. They have bridles with, sometimes, ten dollars' worth of silver ornaments on; Indian ponies, a heavy rifle, a Navy revolver, a hatchet and a Bowie knife. They have a rawhide lasso tied on one side of the saddle . . . (p. 299).

Jim stayed on the trail for nearly another twenty years after this, riding his trusty horse Ruff around the fields of his Missouri farm even when almost blind, guided only by the horse and by the warning bark of his dog Old Sultan. He went over the final divide on July 17, 1881, and in 1904, the hundredth anniversary of his birth, his great admirer General Grenville M. Dodge had a seven-foot granite column erected to his memory in Kansas City, and pronounced an oration (quoted on pp. 341-342) which, while barely this side of idolatry, was in some ways an even better memorial to the old mountain man. Said Dodge: "Unquestionably Bridger's claim to remembrance rests on the extraordinary part he bore in the exploration of the West. As a guide he was without an equal. He was a complete master of plains and woodcraft. In all my experience I never saw Bridger meet an obstacle he could not overcome." General Dodge's *Biographical Sketch of James Bridger* (1905) expands and documents such praises, and the careful researches of Mr. Alter, twenty years later and in subsequent editions of his definite biography, have carefully winnowed out the chaff (much of it resulting from Jim's own well-developed sense of humor and weakness for leg-pulling) from the Bridger story. Much that remains would seem incredible if only it had not been proved true beyond reasonable doubt by these same careful researches. As Jim himself once remarked: "They said I was the damnedest liar ever lived" when he described the marvels of what is now Yellowstone National Park, now attested to by millions.

For everybody who is interested in the *real* West and the *real* Jim Bridger this biography, in its handsome new slimmed-down edition (even in price, for the older editions were beginning to soar on the second-hand market) is a must. And always remember Jim's sage advice:

> "Where there aren't no Indians you'll find 'em thickest."

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John A. Hawgood, who teaches Western American history at the University of Birmingham in England, is the author of *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California*.

*Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880*. By Rodman Wilson Paul (New York, Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1963. 236 pp. $4.50.) Reviewed by John A. Hawgood.

This eagerly-awaited first volume in Ray Billington's "Histories of the American Frontier" series turns out to be a competently-written, carefully-researched, well-illustrated, but somewhat pedestrian treatment of its sure-fire subject. Professor Paul, its author, must have the sympathy of all who write on the American West. While it is very hard to produce a really bad book on the mining frontier (and this, it must be repeated, is a good one, though hardly perhaps in the "brilliant" classification given it by the series' enthusiastic and learned editor), it is, on the other hand, almost impossible to compete with such giants, several of which have long been classics, as Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, Dan De Quille's *The Big Bonanza*, and Bayard Taylor's *Eldorado*. Indeed, into this competition restricted as he was to 100,000 words of scholarly composition – Professor Paul could and did not enter. The restriction as to length "has perforce caused analysis, synthesis and interpretation to displace narrative as the historian's principal reliance," he explains (p. xi).

Sensing, perhaps, some consequences of the straitjacket he and his publishers have imposed upon Professor Paul, the editor of the series, Dr. Billington, has sought in his lively foreword to explain in advance that this cake cannot be expected to contain plums. "The reader who seeks on his pages gripping descriptions of wild west rushes and ramshackle camps, or hair-raising accounts of bad men and vigilantes, will be sorely disappointed" we are told (p. ix). Fair enough, and fair warning! But these wild rushes, ramshackle camps, bad men and vigilantes, *were* all features of the early mining frontier of the Far West, and if they are ignored "from consideration of space" something has been lost and a distorted view can emerge as if all attention had been concentrated on them. Such was Professor Paul's uncomfortable dilemma.

He has sailed around rather than between the horns of this dilemma by writing a straightforward, somewhat dead-pan book, very tidily organized and full of worthy and worthwhile technical information about processes and methods in the gold and silver mines of the West up to 1880. Then, maybe fearing that he might have taken all the glamor out of the subject, he has inserted a few extraneous currants into his pudding by quoting from some of the more decorous (or from the more printable versions of the less decorous) songs that were sung on the mining frontier.

One is thankful to Professor Paul for this concession, even if most of the songs quoted are familiar in rather less respectable forms to almost anybody who has been to college and to many who have not. They brighten up his pages a lot, even though they are introduced, at times, somewhat abruptly and without undue relevance. It is as if a demure and starchy Victorian Miss, having duly warbled her party ballad and made her proper curtsey to the audience's polite applause, had suddenly lifted her skirts a few inches, just to indicate that she did after all possess "limbs." But having decided to exhibit a length of limb, it is rather a pity that Professor Paul's muse was so niggardly about it. Though he devotes a whole introductory page (p. xix) to "The Songs" that he proposes to quote in the text, he only gives us forty-five lines (just one page if they had been printed consecutively) in all from these songs, and these include fragments from such familiars as "Oh, Susannah!" (in two versions), "What Was Your Name in the States?" and those somewhat unapproachable "Hangtown Girls."

Professor Paul's critical apparatus, as was to be expected of the careful author of *California Gold* (Harvard, 1947) and editor of *The Miner's Own Book* (San Francisco, 1949), is impeccable and of great value to the serious student. The "Essay on Bibliography" (p. 217-230) alone is worth the modest sum of $4.50 that is charged for the whole book. The end-paper map could have been more useful.

It has but few names on it, and these have been somewhat impressionistically chosen. (Why include that great gold and silver mining center Fort Benton, which is not even in Mr. Paul's index, but omit both Tombstone and Deadwood?) Though the general maps of gold and silver deposits in the West (pp. 4-5) are valuable, the more detailed ones are disappointing and somewhat frustrating. Why show the gold and silver regions of California (p. 18) on such a small scale, leaving three quarters of this map almost completely blank? The same criticism applies to the Great Basin map (p. 60), the whole lower half of which contains only one place-name. The faint hatchuring of the elevated areas on all these maps gives little topographical assistance and provides no more than a vague artistic background. It is devoutly to be hoped that future volumes in this important series will contain maps more worthy of their text and their subject.

But the defects of this book are insignificant compared with its sterling qualities. If small holes can be picked in it it is nevertheless full of pay-dirt. As the editor points out (p. viii): "No serious historian has hitherto attempted to view the entire movement (of the mining frontier's development) as an integral part of the settlement process." Professor Paul very definitely does this, and given a broader canvas he could have done it even more adequately. But, as his interim report on the mining frontiers (he promises more—"Some day, perhaps, I will try a highly detailed history"—on page xii), this handsome, workmanlike and moderately priced little book is very welcome. Though he has given us Grass Valley without Lola Montez, Deadwood without Calamity Jane, and Tombstone without a single Earp, the men and women who really mattered on the mining frontiers—such as James Marshall, Ed Schieffelin, John S. Gregory, and "Old Virginny" (even if disguised as "Fennimore James") are all in his index and in his text. He separates the men from the boys, even though he tends to notice the ladies—such as Sarah Royce, Louise Clappe, and Rachel Haskell—rather than the girls. But solid citizens like Mrs. Haskell *deserve* to be noticed. She brought "togetherness" to the mining frontier, "seeing that her family read good literature, played the piano, and had a healthy group existence" (p. 165).

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JOHN A. HAWGOOD, who teaches Western American history at the University of Birmingham in England, is a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*. Dr. Hawgood has recently authored *First and Last Consul: Thomas Oliver Larkin and the Americanization of California.*

*The Cross in the Valley*. By Robert Eugene Bonta. (Fresno, Academy of California Church History, 1963. 308 pp. $9.50.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

Slowly but surely the scattered pieces of California's Catholic Heritage are being set into place. *The Cross in the Valley*, an important contribution to this field, "is primarily the story of the development of the Catholic Church in San Joaquin County and the adjacent areas that were served by the pioneer clergymen of Stockton's St. Mary's Church from approximately 1851 to 1863."

The exploration and settlement of Central California's northern valley area is unusually interesting and Robert Bonta's narrative presents a varied selection of rather solid material, gleaned from written accounts and pioneer residents. With skillful and critical management of statistics, the author develops his story in terms familiar to students of provincial California.

As a matter of record, several factual errors might be noted, none of them serious. Joseph Sadoc Alemany was consecrated by James Cardinal Fransoni, not the Patriarch of Jerusalem (p. 50); vicars forane are not juridically equal to vicars general as indicated in the text (p. 47); John Hughes was already an archbishop when Alemany visited him in the fall of 1850 (p. 53); the division of California's original ecclesiastical jurisdiction in 1853 resulted in the erection of the Archdiocese of San Francisco and a smaller Diocese of Monterey. The title "Los Angeles" was only used after 1859 and not in 1853 (p. 137). And this reviewer doubts that Alemany "inherited on the day of his consecration in Rome, the largest piece of real estate held under the jurisdiction of any one ecclesiastic in this country" (p. 51).

The volume is well documented—perhaps overly so in certain places. A few minor inconsistencies are evident. For instance, Bonta mentions that García Diego y Moreno "was consecrated a bishop in the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, Mexico's national shrine" (p. 30) while failing to point out that his admitted source for this information erroneously located the church at Zacatecas.

Emphasis on mechanical exactness has not lessened the appeal of *The Cross in the Valley* as a popular work written for the man in the street. And it is hoped that Mr. Bonta's volume will find its way to many readers and that, having digested it, these same readers will thereby be encouraged to delve deeper into the field of California's Catholic heritage.

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FRANCIS J. WEBER, archivist of the archdiocese of Los Angeles, is an instructor in history at Queen of the Angels Seminary in San Fernando. An authority on American California's Catholicism, Father Weber has recently authored *California's Reluctant Prelate: The Life and Times of Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat, C.M.*

# RECENT CALIFORNIANA

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

*Compiled by* Noel Stowe

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Adler, Pat. *The Bunker Hill Story.* Glendale, La Siesta Press, 1963. $1.00

Bancroft, Anne, and Robert Ernest Cowan. *The Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco.* Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1964. $1.95

Barker, M. A. R. *Klamath Texts.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $4.00, paper

*Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of the Birth of Father Junípero Serra, Cultural Pioneer of California.* Sacramento, Senate of the State of California, 1963. Apply

Crump, Spencer. *Western Pacific: The Railroad That Was Built Too Late.* Los Angeles, Trans-Anglo Books, 1963. $1.50, paper

Cunningham, Glenn, editor. *Day Tours: Geographical Journeys in the Los Angeles Area.* Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1964. $3.95

Doss, Margot Patterson. *San Francisco at Your Feet.* New York, Grove Press, 1964. $1.95, paper

Fatout, Paul. *Mark Twain in Virginia City.* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1964. $6.50

Florin, Lambert. *Ghost Town Trails.* Seattle, Superior Publishing Company, 1963. $12.50

Geiger, Maynard. *Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara . . . 1786-1963.* Santa Barbara, Franciscan Fathers of California, 1963. $15.00

Gentry, Curt. *The Madams of San Francisco: An Irreverent History of the City by the Golden Gate.* Garden City, Doubleday, 1964. $4.95

Gordon, Dudley. *El Alisal: The Lummis Home. Its History and Architecture.* Los Angeles, Cultural Assets Press, 1964. $0.35

Greeley, Horace. *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859.* Edited by Charles Duncan. New York, Knopf, 1964. $5.95

Hammond, George P., editor. *The Larkin Papers, Volume IX.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1964. $9.00

Heiman, Grover. *Jet Pioneers.* New York, Duell, 1963. $4.95

Held, Ray E. *Public Libraries in California, 1849-1878.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $3.50

Hyde, Philip, and François Leydet. *The Last Redwoods: Photography and Story of a Vanishing Scenic Resource.* San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1964. $17.50

Moreau, Jeffery, editor. *The Pacific Electric Pictorial, Volume I.* Hollywood, Pacific Bookwork, 1964. $4.00

Neff, Merlin L. *For God and C. M. E.* Mountain View, California, Pacific Press Publishers, 1964. $6.95

Otter, Floyd Leslie. *The Men of Mammoth Forest: A Hundred Year History of a Sequoia Forest and Its People in Tulare County, California.* Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1963. No price indicated

Perry, Louis B., and Richard S. Perry. *A History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement, 1911-1941.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $10.50

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Platt, P. L., and N. Slater. *Traveler's Guide Across the Plains, the Overland Route to California.* San Francisco, John Howell—Books, 1963. $15.00

Quinn, Charles Russell. *The Story of Mission Santa Ysabel.* Downey, California, author, 1964. $1.00

Reith, J. W. *California and the West.* Grand Rapids, Fidler, 1964. $5.28

Rice, Cy. *Defender of the Damned: Gladys Towles Root.* New York, Citadel Press, 1964. $4.95

Stewart, George R. *Committee of Vigilance.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964. $5.00

Stone, Adolf, *et. al. California Information Almanac.* Lakewood, California, author, 1963. $5.95

Taper, Bernard, editor. *Mark Twain's San Francisco.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963, $6.95

Tracy, Fannie C., and Glendon J. Rodgers. *The Tracy Saga.* Bakersfield, Cardon House, 1962. $6.00

White, Raymond C. *Luiseño Social Organization.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963. $2.50, paper

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Young, Frank Carl. *The Stagecoach Trail.* New York, Arcadia, 1964. $2.95

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Barth, Gunther. "Chinese Sojourners in the West," *Southern California Quarterly,* XLVI (March, 1964).

Belous, Russell E. "A Concord Stage," *Quarterly,* Los Angeles County Museum, II (Winter, 1963-1964).

Blick, James D. "Geography and Mission Agriculture," *The Pacific Historian,* VIII (February, 1964).

Carranco, Lynwood, and Mrs. Eugene Fountain. "California's First Railroad: The Union Plank Walk, Rail Track, and Wharf Company Railroad," *Journal of the West,* III (April, 1964).

Caughey, John W. "Herbert Eugene Bolton," *The American West,* I (Winter, 1964).

Caughey, John W. "Young Californians and Their History," *Southern California Quarterly,* XLVI (March, 1964).

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Davis, Harold H. "One of the Last Cattle Drives over Refugio Pass," *Noticias,* Quarterly of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, X (Spring, 1964).

Dewar, John, "The China Poblana." *Quarterly,* Los Angeles County Museum, II (Fall, 1963).

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Smith, Clifton. "The Vegetation of the Passes," *Noticias,* Quarterly of the Santa Barbara Historical Society, X (Spring, 1964).

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Steele, Harriet. "Gold Rush Letters," *The Pacific Historian,* VIII (February, 1964).

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Wear, George W. "Reminiscences of a Growing City," *Historic Kern*, 14 (March, 1964).

Weiner, Harvey. "Folklore in the Los Angeles Garment Industry," *Western Folklore*, XXIII (January, 1964).

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# HISTORIES OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

## HILLS BROS. COFFEE, INC.

In 1878 Austin H. Hills and Reuben W. Hills started their coffee business in San Francisco.

From the very beginning of Hills Bros. Coffee, quality has been the predominant factor. The founders of Hills Bros. were closely associated with the earliest developments in the art of selecting and grading coffees by "cup test."

In July 1900 the process of packing coffee in vacuum was originated by Hills Bros. This method proved a veritable "fountain of youth" for protecting coffee freshness.

Burned out in the San Francisco fire, Hills Bros. conducted their business in temporary quarters until 1908 when they located at 175 Fremont Street, San Francisco. Outstanding quality, combined with the benefits of vacuum-packing continued to attract the patronage of discriminating coffee drinkers, and before long it became necessary to acquire three adjoining buildings to provide sufficient space.

In 1926, at 2 Harrison Street, San Francisco, they installed their first complete battery of automatically controlled roasters. "Controlled Roasting," an exclusive Hills Bros. process originated in 1923, roasts the coffee "a little bit at a time . . . continuously."

Today Hills Bros. Coffee is roasted and packed in two of the largest and most completely equipped plants in the world, at San Francisco, California, and Edgewater, New Jersey.

## UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK

The oldest ancestor of United California Bank was the German Savings and Loan Society which opened for business in 1868. Always at the same general location in San Francisco's financial district, the headquarters and banking office at one time were located in the Parrott Block. The Parrott Block had an interesting history, because the granite blocks were ordered all the way from China and shipped as ballast in the holds of sailing ships.

The name of this institution was progressively changed, and on December 13, 1924, it became the San Francisco Bank. In July, 1954, the San Francisco Bank purchased the banking business of the Central Bank of Oakland with its fifteen offices. On November 5, 1964, it became First Western Bank & Trust Company.

In Southern California Andrew Chaffey's American Savings Bank, established in 1903, merged wtih Home Savings Bank, Hibernian Savings Bank, and other small banks to become the California Bank on November 12, 1920. In the Los Angeles area the oldest office is the Santa Monica office, which opened March 15, 1888. It still occupies the same location at the corner of Third Street and Santa Monica Boulevard.

In 1961, after a period of 92 years of growth through aggressive management and mergers, the merger of California Bank with the First Western Bank & Trust Company became the United California Bank.

## G. W. HUME COMPANY

Young George W. Hume with his two older brothers journeyed to California from Maine in 1857. He found that salmon were plentiful in the Sacramento River. Returning home in 1863, he met an old schoolmate Andrew Hapgood who was interested in the tin business. Emigrating to California, they established the first salmon cannery in the world.

In 1866 the firm of George W. Hume, William Hume, R. D. Hume, and Andrew Hapgood, moved their operation to the Columbia River. The first season there, they packed 6,000 cases of salmon.

After purchasing plants in Astoria, Oregon, George built a cannery at the mouth of the Wishkah River in Washington and there established Aberdeen, a city later to become prominent as a fish and lumber port. Alaska was the next frontier for George Hume. Following extensive canning activities there, he moved his company to Benicia, California, to can the plentiful fruits and vegetables of that region. In 1910 C. E. Hume, the founder's son, built the Turlock plant. In 1938 interest in Benicia and a plant in Sonoma County were sold. The company moved its main office to Turlock.

Ray G. Hume assumed the corporation presidency, his present position, in 1941 shortly after the death of his father C. E. Hume. The entire Hume Company operation now takes place in the expansive seven-acre Turlock plant.

## DODGE & COX INVESTMENT MANAGERS

The firm of Dodge & Cox celebrated its thirtieth anniversary last year. It was founded by Van Duyn A. Dodge and E. Morris Cox in 1933.

Independent investment counsel on a fee basis for individuals and institutions was then in its infancy. At that time there were only a handful of firms mostly in Boston and New York, the earliest firms having started in the middle 1920's.

It is hard to recall the severity, depth and discouragements of the worldwide depression which persisted through most of the 1930's. Soon these difficult years were to be followed by five years of world war.

Throughout the depression years and war years Dodge & Cox grew steadily in the number of individuals, families, and corporations who turned to it for the management of their investment affairs. Due to the newness of the field this was a challenging period in the firm's development. Investment research procedures and policies had to be worked out with little historical professional precedent for guidance.

The staff of Dodge & Cox experienced a steady growth during the 1950's and 1960's as increasing numbers of individuals and institutions have sought professional investment management for the supervision of their investment affairs. The rapid growth of charitable funds and profit sharing and pension funds during the recent years has also contributed substantially to the firm's growth.

## FIREMAN'S FUND INSURANCE COMPANY

Just over 100 years ago—May 6, 1863—Fireman's Fund Insurance Company was incorporated. The first premium income came from Walter Hawxhurst, amounting to $12.00. He wanted insurance on his half interest of one thousand five-gallon kegs of Boston syrup.

Fire after fire taxed the new company's capacity—the Chicago fire of 1871, the Boston fire of 1872, the Virginia City, Nevada, fire of 1875; and of course the terrible fire and earthquake of 1906 in San Francisco, when the company paid off $11 million in claims—much of it on no more than a man's word. Fireman's Fund became the only insurance company ever to survive destruction of its home office and all its records, a feat still unequalled.

During the years, trial and error substituted for experience as Fireman's Fund wrote policies on whale oil and bone from the Arctic, sugar and spices from the Indies and South America; furs from ice-packed trading posts, coal from Australia, tea and merchandise from the Orient, and grain shipped down the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers.

An important milestone occurred in 1963, when a full century had rounded out with Fireman's Fund becoming affiliated with the American Insurance Company, a union that provides assets in excess of $1 billion.

## McCORMICK & COMPANY, INC. (SCHILLING DIVISION)

In 1881 August Schilling and George F. Volkman, both from Bremen, Germany, formed a partnership. Their first business location was 122 Davis Street, San Francisco, selling coffee, tea, baking powder, spices, extracts, etc. At a time when all products were adulterated, their Pioneer Baking Powder was pure, consisting of refined grape cream of tartar and English bicarbonate of soda.

As soon as the firm felt sufficiently well established, it decided to make a radical departure from custom and to offer a full line of unadulterated products of highest quality consistent with economy. The brand name of "Schilling's Best" was chosen.

Before 1900 a uniform red label with white lettering in Caslon type and gold borders was adopted for all Schilling's Best consumer packages. The shade of red on the labels was so distinctive and well known that it was designated as Schilling Red by the printing world. A few years later the word arrangement was changed—but continuing the red background and gold borders. Starting in 1922, the labels were lithographed directly on the spice cans.

On September 1, 1929, A. Schilling & Company entered into an agreement with J. A. Folger & Company, for the purchase of their spice and extract line under a plan of payment based on the amount of business actually transferred to them.

On December 31, 1946, McCormick & Company, Inc., purchased the Schilling Company.

## CROCKER-CITIZENS NATIONAL BANK

In the fall of 1890 a group of five Los Angeles businessmen started the Citizens Bank. Capital was needed to develop western resources. The need for a bank that could supply a steady flow of capital was clear. The first president was T. S. C. Lowe, whose name was later identified with the world-famous inclined railway and resort on Mt. Lowe.

The little bank started with paid up capital of $100,000, setting up its office in rented rooms in a small building on the corner of Third and Spring, Los Angeles. Shortly after the founding of the bank, the country was engulfed in a depression. Despite this the bank declared its first dividend in 1893. In the following three years, the bank continued to show steady growth. It soon passed the $1,000,000 mark in resources, and also became a national bank in 1901.

In 1911 Citizens purchased the Broadway Bank and Trust Company, operating it as a separate institution under the name of Citizens Trust and Savings Bank. In 1928 Citizens Trust and Savings and Citizens National were consolidated into one under the name and charter of Citizens National Trust and Savings Bank of Los Angeles. In 1959 the bank's name was shortened to Citizens National Bank.

In the summer of 1963 there was a merger between the Crocker-Anglo National Bank and Citizens National Bank, with more than 200 branch offices from the Oregon border to Orange County.

## HOWELL-NORTH – BOOKS

High standards of typographical design and excellent craftsmanship throughout their plant have ever been the aim of Howell-North Press which is currently celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The founders of the firm, Morgan North, W. Robert Howell, and Flora D. North at the beginning of World War II had a prospering printing firm. The two men left to serve their country, and the firm was completely converted to war work. Their paper allotment grew and was used in the production of legal text and reference books. Eventually bindery equipment was purchased.

During this period Howell-North Press had gathered excellent personnel in all departments. Anxious to keep them, and anxious too to venture into publishing, a second business was formed by the same three printing partners and called Howell-North – Books.

Nearly fifty books have been published under this imprint in the fields of Railroadiana and Western Americana. The firm's aim is to present the best books in these fields as technically excellent as possible.

Despite the problems of publishing in the West (particularly the much higher wage scale), Howell-North – Books feels confident that in time the East may have more competition.

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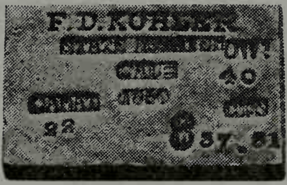

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DECEMBER 1964

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# Thomas Starr King and the Mercy Million

*By* RUSSELL M. POSNER

IN SEPTEMBER, 1862, the United States Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the modern American Red Cross, faced near bankruptcy. The Sanitary Commission was a private organization attempting on a national scale to aid the sick and wounded soldiers of the Civil War. The commission's treasury, dependent on contributions from the American public, was desperately short of funds. The situation was saved by a vast outpouring of gold from the distant and thinly settled state of California. This flood of money continued to the end of the war, enabling the commission to survive and greatly expand its charitable endeavors. According to the 1860 census, California ranked as the twenty-sixth state in population in a Union of thirty-three states. In 1860 there were only 380,000 inhabitants in the Golden State. Yet, despite a small population, haphazard collecting methods, and climatic disasters, California contributed more money to Union war relief than any other state. One man above all was responsible for this great achievement—the dynamic and youthful Unitarian minister in San Francisco, Thomas Starr King.[1]

Born in New York City on December 17, 1824, Thomas Starr King was the son of a Universalist minister. At fifteen he left school to support a widowed mother and five younger brothers and sisters. In succession, he worked as a dry goods clerk, as a bookkeeper, and as a schoolteacher. Largely self-educated, Starr King finally turned to

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religion and at the age of twenty-two became pastor of the First Universalist Church of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Two years later he assumed the ministerial duties at the Hollis Street Unitarian Church in Boston. Starr King remained in Boston for eleven years, acquiring a great reputation as a brilliant preacher. His winning manner and magnetic personality attracted many to the church. By 1859 his congregation was five times as large as in 1848. Starr King also became a popular lyceum lecturer in the East. He even managed to find time to write a travel and nature book on the White Mountains of New Hampshire in 1859.

Always frail in health, Starr King decided at the end of 1859 to leave the cold weather of New England and seek a beneficial change of climate. He had offers from Unitarian churches in both Cincinnati and San Francisco. Starr King's imagination was fired by the challenge of San Francisco, a young society in a distant, newly settled land. Ironically, he thought his work schedule would be less exhausting in California. Although he accepted the call to San Francisco, he wrote to a fellow minister: "Were I twice as strong, that [Cincinnati] would be my true post."[2] More cheerfully, Starr King said: "I do think we are unfaithful in huddling so closely around the cozy stove of civilization in this blessed Boston and I, for one, am ready to go out into the cold and see if I am good for anything."[3] Starr King planned to spend several years in the West and then return to New England after a visit to Europe.

Sailing to California via Panama, Starr King arrived in San Francisco on April 28, 1860. The thirty-five-year-old minister found his new congregation to be small and scattered and his church some $20,000 in debt. The next day, April 29, he preached his first sermon. The first sight of their new minister must have been disappointing to the congregation. Starr King was very short in stature, slender, and boyish in appearance. Virtually beardless, he had long, lank hair and dark gray eyes. But when he began to speak, the new minister rapidly inspired confidence. He was a magnificent orator with a deep, rich, resonant voice. He impressed everyone with his sincerity, his knowledge, and his sense of righteousness. Starr King also possessed a delightful vein of humor. He said of his own diminutive figure that his small size was against him "in this land of big waterfalls, big trees, and big vegetables," but added drolly that "Though I weigh only 120 pounds, when I am mad I weigh a ton!"[4]

Starr King's first sermon was a great success. His congregation rapidly grew in size. Within one year he liquidated the debts of the church. In December, 1862, the cornerstone was laid for a big, new fifteen hundred seat church. During the next year, Starr King raised $80,000 to complete the building which was dedicated on January 10, 1864. His successor said of his congregation that it was "a truly grand one, both in size and quality. In that pulpit the public opinion of the whole region is manufactured. It is a kind of legislature sitting every Sunday."[5]

Very soon, Starr King was greatly in demand as a public speaker. He travelled widely over the state, delivering popular lectures on literary subjects and collecting material for a travel book on the Sierras that he hoped someday to write. On his journeys, his sense of humor never deserted him. The minister declared that he never knew the exhilaration of public speaking until he faced a front row of revolvers and bowie knives in the mining towns. He loved to tell with relish a story of two red-shirted miners who stared at a poster announcing a Starr King literary lecture "Socrates and His Age." One miner scratched his head and turned to his companion, saying: "Bill, who was So-crates and who the - - - - cares how old he was?"[6]

Starr King also participated actively in the successful campaigns to elect President Lincoln in 1860 and Governor Leland Stanford in 1861. In addition, he stumped the state in 1861 as an advocate of the Union, helping to insure California's loyalty to the North. About his many activities, Starr King wrote to a friend: "I am tolerably well and intolerably at work. Never wrote so much in a year as during the last year and am speaking as much as my feeble voice will permit."[7]

By 1862, Starr King was almost beyond challenge in his ability to influence public opinion in California. So great did his fame become that a wing of the Republican party attempted to nominate him for the United States Senate in 1862. The minister absolutely prohibited the use of his name as a candidate under any circumstances. He felt that he was completely unfitted for a political career: "I should consider an election to the Senate as the greatest calamity which could befall me in life."[8] In declining to run, he told a friend: "There is no more chance of my election to that post than of my being lifted to the moon. . . . I would not accept the position if elected."[9] Humorously, Starr King stated his opinion of politicians: "A dandy lives from one neck-tie to another, a fashionable woman, from one wrinkle to another, and a politician from one election to another."[10] But, while rejecting a political career, Starr King was engaged in his greatest service to the Union cause. This was the organization of a massive war relief program in California.

At the start of the Civil War, it became obvious that the burden of hospitalization and general care of the troops was too great a task alone for the Medical Bureau of the War Department. Private initiative soon provided a valuable civilian auxiliary in the United States Sanitary Commission. Organized in June, 1861, the Sanitary Commission and its five hundred field agents supplied sick and wounded soldiers with food, clothing, and medicines, collected by seven thousand local aid societies all over the North and West. The supplies were donated and amounted to about fifteen million dollars in value by the end of the war. Branch offices were maintained in a number of cities where supplies were collected and funds transmitted to the national agency. The commission also provided field ambulances and hospital services, supplied steamers and hospital cars for the wounded, inspected medical facilities, and helped soldiers collect pensions.

The expense of transporting and distributing the supplies to widely scattered armies was borne by the central treasury of the commission. The central treasury was in turn dependent for its support upon voluntary contributions from the American public. In the summer of 1862 a series of Union defeats produced a feeling of pessimism and revenue fell off badly just at a time of growing need. In September the cash balance was down to $16,723, while the total receipts fell to a pitiful $20,916 for that same month.[11]

The president of the Sanitary Commission was Henry W. Bellows, a Unitarian minister in New York and a close friend of Starr King. By early September, 1862, Bellows was in despair. He feared that the great war relief organization would have to suspend operations because of the depleted treasury. He wrote gloomily that his agency might have "to commit hara-kiri."[12] At this point California and Thomas Starr King came to the rescue.

On returning from a visit to Oregon in August, Starr King found San Francisco in a mood of depression. The news of the Union defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run filled citizens with gloom. As the *Alta California* commented: "We are now in the precise position we occupied last Fall. All the fighting and bloodshed of the last twelve months have gone for nothing. We have today to commence *de novo* the work of crushing out this monstrous rebellion."[13] Starr King felt that California, although far removed from the scene of battle, could aid the Union cause through wholehearted support of war relief. He wrote: "For months I have hoped and labored and lectured and prayed that San Francisco might wake up to her duty to the nation, to the soldier, and to the Sanitary Commission."[14]

As a small first step, Starr King urged that contribution boxes for the Sanitary Commission be placed in San Francisco polling places on the day of a local election. The board of supervisors adopted the suggestion. As a result, $3,735 was collected on September 3 and sent to the central treasury.

Next, Starr King delivered a public lecture on the "New Call of Patriotism" to a packed hall. He tried to arouse the community from its torpor and apathy. As he told Bellows later: "I lashed our supine temper in the metropolis and really started a feeling of shame which broke out in newspaper editorials and then in a call for a public meeting in our largest hall."[15]

On Sunday evening, September 14, 1862, more than three thousand San Franciscans crowded into Platt's Music Hall. The meeting was called for eight in the evening, but every seat was taken by seven. The audience heard a group of orators on the subject of war relief. Starr King was the last speaker of the evening. He talked of California whose economy had prospered through war and on whose soil there had been no movement of armies. California had not been called upon to contribute men, but she could provide money: "Give, give, I pray you. There are no enemies in the hospital or the grave." He added: "Shall it be said that rich and generous California was the only state whose blood did not bound in unison and sympathy with her loyal sisters? Shall history say that electric California was alone laggard?"[16] Starr King's impassioned plea brought frenzied applause. One eyewitness said: "Men became frantic with enthusiasm and loyalty."[17]

Starr King himself admitted in a subsequent letter: "I spoke about three-fourths of an hour to such enthusiasm as I never met before."[18]

As a result of the meeting, the Committee of Thirteen was set up to collect funds and ask for monthly subscriptions in the city. During the next few days the committee, composed of prominent businessmen, canvassed San Francisco for the so-called Soldiers Relief Fund. The public response was tremendous. Rich and poor alike poured money into the fund. Individuals and businesses contributed generously. Many people pledged to give stated amounts monthly until the end of the conflict. Only a few persons refused the collectors. The *Alta California* reported: "It is hinted that the names of these heartless cormorants will be hereafter published by the Committee."[19]

Within five days $100,000 was raised in the city. Starr King personally gave $500 and the proceeds from a public lecture on "Patriotism: Its Duties and Privileges." Tickets sold for a dollar and about $1,000 was obtained from the lecture delivered on September 22.

Although he was not officially a member of the Committee of Thirteen, Starr King was the *de facto* head of the relief effort. At the time of organization, the committee knew little of the actual work of the Sanitary Commission. On September 18, Starr King met with the committee and explained to them in detail the operations of the Sanitary Commission. He persuaded the committee to make the Sanitary Commission the exclusive beneficiary of the collected funds.[20] On September 19, $100,000 was sent to President Bellows. Twelve days later, another $100,000 was dispatched to the East from San Francisco.

The first $100,000 from California arrived in mid-October and saved the life of the Sanitary Commission. President Bellows spoke feelingly of the "unparalleled munificence of distant California."[21] The commission treasurer, George T. Strong, wrote in his diary on October 23 that "The Sanitary Commission is waxing fat. Its California remittances will foot up not much below a quarter of a million and may exceed that sum."[22] In October the Sanitary Commission received in contributions $213,964 (of which $206,837 came from the Pacific states) and had a healthy cash balance of $186,811.[23] As a result, the Sanitary Commission was able to expand its activities four-fold in the next few months. Still, the work of the commission depended on the continued support of California where Starr King was now trying to arouse the interior counties to an effort on behalf of war relief.

After his meeting with the Committee of Thirteen on September 18, Starr King announced that he would undertake a speaking tour of interior communities to awaken interest in the needs of the sick and wounded soldiers. By speaking two or three times a week, he hoped to help raise $100,000 in the sparsely settled areas of the state. This tour was almost a necessity for Starr King's inner peace of mind. He confided to Bellows at the time: "I feel so ashamed of myself that I am not at the East engaged demonstratively in the war."[24]

The news of San Francisco's spectacular fund raising drive had already spread into the interior, and Starr King found a ready response. At a rally in Stockton, he collected $5,000. On September 29 he spoke at a mass meeting of farmers in Alameda County. The minister described it as "a glorious time." The people sat in a grove of trees, there was music, and the local treasurer, to Starr King's delight, was named Socrates Huff![25] The farm group contributed $4,215 to the fund. On October 5 Starr King appeared at a gathering in San Jose and $3,000 was donated on the spot. He also spoke at Sacramento, Marysville, Vallejo, and a number of other places. Everywhere Starr King appeared, large sums were raised. His tour was so successful that he declared: "If I had time and strength, I would stump the whole mining region for the Fund. Perhaps I shall."[26]

Starr King had enormous powers of persuasion. An anecdote was told of a wealthy gentleman, known to be "shrewdly close" who was so moved by Starr King's appeal that he signed a pledge for $500 a month on the first day of each and every month during the war.[27] A businessman was quoted as saying of the minister, "When he spoke the word 'sweet,' I could always taste it."[28]

In California, for the first time in his life, Starr King abandoned manuscripts and spoke extemporaneously. His oratory was frequently emotional and his style ornate by twentieth-century standards, but his audiences loved the rhetorical flourishes. There was general approval when he said that the Confederates "with their traitorous cannon and unblessed steel . . . are fighting against God" and compared Northern Copperheads to Judas Iscariot: "Follow them [the Copperheads] if you would give comfort to the enemy. . . . Follow them if you would listen to the music of silver that will turn all America from its true destiny into a field of blood."

Starr King, in his wartime addresses, also proved to be no mean prophet. In his speech on "The New Nation to Emerge from the War" (June 17, 1862), he stated: "Now the age is dawning of immense Empires . . . Russia is the type on the old continent of the new movement. . . . and the United States in the New World." In the same speech he predicted that in a century from 1862, the United States would contain "150 millions of freeborn, elastic, jubilant souls. . . . We shall issue from this war virtually I believe the first class power of the earth."[29]

Despite certain grave difficulties to be discussed presently, California remained the financial mainstay of the Sanitary Commission throughout the war. Other states contributed supplies and manpower; California gave gold. Funds were raised not only by monthly subscriptions but by collections in places of public amusement, by church socials and school parties, and by fairs and auction sales. The United States Sanitary Commission files contain many examples of the ingenious methods employed by the Californians. Visitors, for instance, were charged 25 cents admission to witness the building of an ironclad warship, the *Comanche*, at the Donahue and Ryan shipyard in San Francisco. As a result, $4,572 was raised for the fund. The Steele Brothers, dairymen in Santa Cruz, made and presented a cheese weighing 3,930 pounds for auction. The sale brought to war relief the sum of $1,890. At Downieville, in July of 1864, a county check to a juryman for $12.00 was auctioned for $333. In August, 1864, at Napa City, a bottle of California champagne was sold at a "military entertainment" for $140. Two San Francisco photographers took pictures of their friends and associates all day on July 4, 1864, and contributed the money ($235) to the Sanitary Commission. In May of 1863 a charade party in Santa Cruz raised $200. A ball at Mountain View in October, 1862, brought in $175. At Napa, a Christmas Eve festival in 1862 raised $700. The examples can be multiplied almost endlessly.[30]

At the end of the first year of fund raising, California had contributed over $500,000 to war relief. So much money came to the Sanitary Commission from California that the treasurer of the commission complained he found it difficult to write letters expressing gratitude since "my power of producing variation on the theme of thanksgiving is exhausted."[31]

In spite of this success, Thomas Starr King and his committee were troubled by a number of problems in the raising of funds. One problem involved natural disasters. A great flood in 1862 destroyed or damaged fifty million dollars worth of property in the Sacramento Valley. The town of Sacramento was entirely flooded. A costly new levee had to be built by the citizens for future protection. Still, Sacramento contributed generously to the relief fund. In November, 1862, Leland Stanford, head of the local relief committtee, sent a telegram to President Bellows: "The city of Sacramento from her baptism of water to her suffering brethren in the East in their baptism of blood sends $20,000 by mail today."[32] Starr King said of the Sacramento contribution: "It is a most honorable and really to me an amazing subscription. The movement for its collection was made after a lecture of mine there and I feel more proud of it than of anything [that has been] done in the state."[33]

Also during the war years, 1863 and 1864, there was a terrible drought in the thinly populated southern counties. The wheat crop was ruined, and hay became so scarce that it sold for $60.00 a ton. Out of 300,000 head of cattle on the Santa Barbara County assessor's books, 295,000 perished. In the spring of 1864 not one cent of taxes was collected in Los Angeles County (with a two million dollar assessment). There were foreclosures on many ranches. Still, the southern counties contributed a little money to the Soldiers Relief Fund. Los Angeles in 1863 gave $1,309 while San Bernardino gave $360 early in 1864.[34] The amounts were small but represented a real sacrifice to the people of these distressed districts.

Another problem faced by Starr King was the disposition of the relief money from California. The United States Sanitary Commission had a small independent rival in the Western Sanitary Commission with its center at St. Louis, Missouri. This organization was headed by a Congregational minister, William G. Eliot, another friend of Starr King. The Western Sanitary Commission looked after soldiers and sailors in the trans-Mississippi area. The United States Sanitary Commission had a western office in Louisville, Kentucky, and claimed to cover the same territory.

Of the original $200,000 sent by California to the United States Sanitary Commission, $50,000 was earmarked for the independent St. Louis organization. President Bellows dispatched the California money to St. Louis reluctantly because he felt that Eliot's agency was engaged in an unnecessary duplication of war relief functions.

After October, 1862, both Eliot and Bellows appealed to Starr King for funds. Eliot wrote pleading letters asking for "a liberal share of the California bounty." He said that he had sought to co-operate with Bellows but had never received anything from the national organization.[35] Eliot claimed that local needs in Missouri were great and that his group paralleled but did not duplicate the work of the larger agency: "We need more help. . . . We do not work to be greedy nor to open any conflict between our Commission and the U. S. Commission."[36]

Bellows, on the other hand, claimed that the work of the St. Louis group was divisive. In letters he stated that his organization should receive all the funds since the United States Sanitary Commission was "national, complete, unsectional." Bellows said that at least half of the total money raised would be spent in the Mississippi Valley. He pleaded with Starr King to keep all California contributions "in one channel" to maintain "vigor, order, national unity and competency of administration."[37]

Starr King was thrown into an agony of indecision. He told Bellows: "Whenever you send a letter, there is sure to be one from Eliot in the Box. You argue and plead and Eliot argues and is eloquent and pathetic. . . . You are the upper millstone, Eliot the nether one, and I am the poor grain of wheat between."[38] Finally, Starr King decided to support Bellows in the interests of the greater national need and not split California's funds. To prevent a public argument, Starr King kept the controversial portions of the rival letters a secret from most of the San Francisco committee. He wrote Bellows: "All they know is that they have done a good work for the hospitals, that you are delighted with their services . . . and that Eliot is as fervent in thanks as you. I read to them scraps from your letters and Eliot's and judiciously omit what I tell them are the private portions of the Epistles."[39]

Starr King was troubled by his conscience as a result of his supression of the dispute. He feared he was doing wrong in favoring Bellows against "the pleas of so good a man as Eliot." He even told Bellows in one letter: "We [in California] are superior to all your local squabbles and jealousies."[40] Nevertheless, Starr King maintained his attitude of public support for the United States Sanitary Commission. Californians remained unaware of the quarrel, and the state poured almost all of its bounty into the coffers of the national commission for the balance of the war.

A last and serious problem faced by Starr King was the haphazard and inefficient methods of collection employed in California. President Bellows on a later trip to California discovered that there was no systematic canvass of the interior counties and that they contributed considerably less than San Francisco. Also, the interior counties were jealous of San Francisco and frequently ignored Starr King's committee by sending their money direct to New York. In addition, the San Francisco committee treasurer, James Otis, entered fund receipts in the same day book that he used for his regular business. As a result, he often found it impossible to tell from whom the contributions had come. Towns which gave $4,000 were listed at $700, and acknowledgments for the full sums were not made. Worst of all, the method employed by Starr King and his committee to raise money was that of a "periodic furor." Vast amounts would be collected in a drive of a week or two. Then there would be a long period of inaction followed by another frenzied drive. There was little sustained effort. Bellows commented of the members of the San Francisco committee: "Few work at getting monthly assessments. They have a way of banding together, four or five gentlemen, sitting down before a refractory non-payer until he surrenders in the sum they consider he ought to subscribe." Bellows added: "Those who do the work one season are generally fully satisfied with their disagreeable experience and back out the next. The Committee is then filled with fresh victims who go through the same bitter but useful labor."[41]

During the year of 1863 public enthusiasm in California began to wane. The amounts coming in to the central treasury of the commission grew less and less. In October the Sanitary Commission faced another financial crisis. Bellows wrote: "Our treasury is the only cause of anxiety. . . . We see small prospect of any large increase except by stirring up California."[42]

Once more Starr King came to the rescue. The minister decided to make another "strike" for the Sanitary Fund. He called the old Committee of Thirteen together in late October but could not "kindle the former fire with them." Four members were in the East, the rest were apathetic or deeply involved in business. Some doubted if the public could be aroused again. The minister then decided to abandon the committee. By private circular, he summoned about one hundred merchants and businessmen to a meeting on October 31. From this group, the new Committee of Thirty-Five was chosen with Mayor H. P. Coon as chairman. Starr King stated: "I was singularly commissioned to draw up an address for the interior [counties] and to arrange for a great mass meeting in our Music Hall on Montgomery Street."[43]

The mass meeting was held at Platt's Music Hall on Tuesday evening, November 10, 1863. As in the previous year, the great hall was crowded with spectators, and many people were turned away. Inside, according to the San Francisco *Bulletin*, the auditorium "was bright with women's eyes and smiles as well as gas burners and banners."[44]

There were many speakers including the governor and the mayor. Once more, Starr King was the final orator of the evening. He gave a virtuoso performance. For an hour the minister ran the gamut from light humor to heavy pathos. He spoke eloquently of the privations of the soldiers and of the importance of California's contribution of more than $500,000 to war relief. Finally he read an appeal from Bellows stating that current expenses ran $50,000 a month and that the commission would die in three months without massive aid from the Pacific Coast. Bellows pleaded for $25,000 a month from California, paid regularly as long as the war lasted. The other $25,000 a month could be made up in the East. "California has been our main support in money and if she fails us, we are lost."[45] Starr King then ended his address by calling on those present to demonstrate their patriotism by supporting the war relief drive. He sat down to thunderous cheers. Later he wrote: "People knew that their applause was to cost them gold and they didn't hold back. . . . I could feel the pursebeat of San Francisco."[46]

The next morning the enlarged committee began collecting subscriptions for the fund in San Francisco. The response was as enthusiastic as in the previous year. By the end of December nearly $200,000 had been pledged to the Sanitary Commission. In jubilation Bellows wired to the committee:[47] "I can only stutter—noble, tender, faithful San Francisco! City of the heart, commercial and moral capital of the most humane and generous state in the World!"

In February, 1864, Starr King announced that in the spring he would canvass the rural districts in hopes of securing $100,000 more to add to the $200,000 already raised in the current drive. But his tour never took place. The thirty-nine-year-old minister was nearly exhausted from the heavy burden of his four years in California. He described himself as being "freighted with cares."[48] The labors of completing the new Unitarian Church, the lecture tours, and the fund drives, all took their toll of his frail physique. A long held premonition that he would never reach the age of forty came true for Starr King. The minister contracted diphtheria and after a few days of illness died on March 4, 1864. His last words to his wife were: "Tell my friends that I went lovingly, trustfully, peacefully."[49]

At the death of Starr King, the state legislature adjourned for three days, the city courts closed for a day, and flags were flown at half mast on many buildings in San Francisco. The San Francisco *Bulletin* said that "San Francisco has lost one of her chief attractions; the state, its noblest orator; the country, one of her ablest defenders."[50] The *Alta California* called Starr King "a true apostle of humanity."[51]

The passing of the Unitarian minister came as a great blow to the Sanitary Commission. Starr King had been the guiding spirit and the only really effective head of the relief effort in the Golden State. Almost immediately, President Bellows travelled to California, ostensibly to occupy Starr King's pulpit for six months until a new minister could be selected. More important, Bellows came to insure the continuation of California's great outpouring of gold for war relief.

During his stay (April 30 to September 23), Bellows raised about $175,000 but was dissatisfied with the collecting procedures. He decided to put the gathering of funds on a practical, systematic basis. The Soldiers Relief Fund Committee was dissolved and replaced on August 11, 1864, by the California Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission. This was a full-fledged, regular branch office of the national organization. The local branch was headed by a full-time executive secretary, O. C. Wheeler, who maintained his business office at 240 Montgomery Street. Ten agents (later raised to fifteen) were sent to canvass the then existing forty-four counties of the state. The agents were to organize soldiers' aid societies if possible in every town with more than one hundred people. These local societies were to make regular, periodic contributions direct to the California branch which would forward the money to New York. Even the giving of 10 cents a month by individuals was strongly encouraged. Every person who contributed $10.00 or more received a handsome certificate from the office at 240 Montgomery Street. Publicity statements and pamphlets were issued at regular intervals—"a series of short, pithy tracts," according to Bellows, "that a man can read in ten minutes at lunch."[52]

Within the next ten months, 305 auxiliary societies were organized by the travelling agents. The files of the United States Sanitary Commission contain the names of the officers of 281 of the societies.[53] Groups were started even in such colorful mining communities as Red Dog and You Bet in Nevada County and Port Wine in Sierra County. Some were very weak but about two hundred societies gave money every month. Amusingly, the fifteen agents were told to submit detailed expense accounts on their travels and to "avoid equally the appearance of the mendicant and the prodigal."[54] A modern touch was provided by a bogus agent, named Yokum unbelievably, who attempted to collect funds for himself in several communities in the Sierra.[55]

Between August, 1864, and August, 1865, the California Branch raised $296,089.09 at a total expense of $5,976.93.[56] The Civil War ended with the surrender of the last Confederate armies in May, 1865. Three months later, on August 23, the California Branch suspended operations and sent its remaining funds to the central treasury.

In three years of fund raising, California collected a grand total of $1,233,977.81 for the Sanitary Commission out of $4,924,048.99 gathered nationally.[57] This was 25.06 per cent of the total amount, a remarkable accomplishment for a state of less than five hundred thousand people.

Farthest from the scene of war, California in terms of mercy was the closest to the sick and wounded of the conflict. The great success of the war relief effort was a tribute, not only to the patriotism and generosity of the Californians, but to the untiring labors of Thomas Starr King.

On hearing of Starr King's death, the Boston *Evening Transcript* summed up what many people thought of the minister's rôle in the Civil War. The editorial was in the florid style of the period but the sentiment was sincere:

> Full of sympathy for those called to the battlefield, he toiled like an angel of mercy to provide the means to bind up their wounds.... His words of vehement exhortation inspired courage and unsheathed swords. His words of earnest entreaty coined hundreds of thousands of golden dollars for the treasury of beneficence. Thus striving, he has died as much a hero as he would had he fallen leading an army to victory.[58]

## NOTES

1. This article is based largely on the United States Sanitary Commission Files in the New York Public Library and the Henry W. Bellows Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society. A small collection of Thomas Starr King Papers is at the Society of California Pioneers in San Francisco. There is a Thomas Starr King Scrapbook of letters and clippings at the Starr King School of Religion in Berkeley.

2. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, January 2, 1860, Bellows Papers.

3. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, December 26, 1859, Bellows Papers.

4. Charles W. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King* (Boston, 1921), p. 87.

5. Henry W. Bellows to Friends, June 21, 1864, Bellows Papers.

6. Wendte, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

7. Starr King to Joseph H. Allen, February 28, 1862, Miscellaneous Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

8. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, October 31, 1862, Bellows Papers.

9. Starr King to George W. Tyler, September 8, 1862, Thomas Starr King Scrapbook, Starr King School of Religion.

10. William D. Simonds, *Starr King in California* (San Francisco, 1917), p. 82.

11. Charles J. Stillé, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission* (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 203.

12. Henry W. Bellows to Mrs. Bellows, September 1, 1862, Bellows Papers.

13. San Francisco *Alta California,* September 8, 1862.

14. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, September 18, 1862, Bellows Papers.

15. *Loc. cit.*

16. San Francisco *Alta California,* September 15, 1862.

17. Russell Swain to Henry W. Bellows, September 18, 1862, Bellows Papers.

18. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, September 18, 1862, Bellows Papers.

19. San Francisco *Alta California,* September 19, 1862.

20. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, September 18, 1862, Bellows Papers. See also Stillé, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

21. Henry W. Bellows to Eugene Kelly and Company, October 28, 1862, Box 638, Sanitary Commission Files.

22. Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of George T. Strong* (New York, 1952), III, 267.

23. Stillé, *op. cit.*, p. 550.

24. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, October 31, 1862, Bellows Papers.

25. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, September 30, 1862, Bellows Papers.

26. *Loc. cit.*

27. S. D. Woods, *Lights and Shadows of Life on the Pacific Coast* (New York, 1910), pp. 178-179.

28. Clipping in Thomas Starr King Scrapbook, Starr King School of Religion.

29. There is an interesting analysis of Starr King's speeches and oratorical ability in Joseph A. Wagner, "The Western Speeches of Thomas Starr King" (Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1952).

30. Boxes 638 and 642, Sanitary Commission Files, contain many letters from California relating to the raising of war relief funds.

31. George T. Strong to Henry W. Bellows, January 22, 1863, Box 642, Sanitary Commission Files.

32. Leland Stanford to Henry W. Bellows, November 22, 1862, Box 639, Sanitary Commission Files.

33. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, November 24, 1862, Bellows Papers.

34. See *Reports to the Treasurer and Secretary of the Soldiers Relief Fund Committee to the California Branch* (San Francisco, 1865), pp. 16-21, for contributions. Conditions in the southern counties are discussed in Felix Riesenberg, Jr., *The Golden Road* (New York, 1962), pp. 160-161.

35. William G. Eliot to Starr King, October 3, 1862, Thomas Starr King Papers, Society of California Pioneers.

36. William G. Eliot to Starr King, November 4, 1862, Thomas Starr King Papers, Society of California Pioneers.

37. Henry W. Bellows to Starr King, November 4, 1862, Bellows Papers.

38. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, November 24, 1862, Bellows Papers.

39. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, December 10, 1862, Bellows Papers.

40. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, June 1, 1863, Bellows Papers.

41. Henry W. Bellows to Members of the Standing Committee, U. S. Sanitary Commission, August 11, 1864, Bellows Papers, contains a list of complaints.

42. Henry W. Bellows to Mrs. Bellows, October 10, 1863, Bellows Papers.

43. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, November 12, 1863, Bellows Papers.

44. San Francisco *Bulletin*, November 11, 1863.

45. Stillé, *op. cit.*, p. 223, has text of message.

46. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, November 12, 1863, Bellows Papers.

47. Henry W. Bellows to Mayor H. P. Coon, December 17, 1863, Box 639, Sanitary Commission Files.

48. Starr King to Henry W. Bellows, February 12, 1864, Bellows Papers.

49. Simonds, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

50. San Francisco *Bulletin,* March 4, 1864.

51. San Francisco *Alta California,* March 12, 1864.

52. Henry W. Bellows to Members of the Standing Committee, U. S. Sanitary Commission, August 11, 1864, Bellows Papers, describes organization of the new California branch.

53. Book 78 (Index of Places with Aid Societies) and Book 79 (Index of Officers of Aid Societies), Sanitary Commission Files.

54. *Instructions of the Executive Committee of the California Branch to its Agents* (printed form, San Francisco, September 1864), Bellows Papers.

55. I. Moore (Postmaster at Quincy) to Henry W. Bellows, May 30, 1864, Bellows Papers.

56. *Reports of the Treasurer and Secretary of the Soldiers Relief Fund,* pp. 74, 92.

57. Stillé, *op cit.,* pp. 546 and 548, for figures.

58. Boston *Evening Transcript,* March 5, 1864. Clipping in Thomas Starr King Papers at Society of California Pioneers.

# Louis Prevost and the Silk Industry at San Jose

### *By* Nelson Klose

Louis Prevost, a French botanist and immigrant to California, born in Reux, Normandy, became a nurseryman in San Jose and began experiments in 1854 to develop sericulture in California. Like other early sericulturists in the new commonwealth, he acquired his interest in growing silkworms and producing the cocoons because of his background in the silk regions of Europe. Prevost was the first to grow silkworms and produce cocoons in California when he succeeded in 1860. For the next ten years he pursued the business industriously, intelligently, and profitably at the early California agricultural center of San Jose. Before coming to California, Prevost was associated with the well-known Prince Nursery in Long Island and there assisted in the promotion of the mulberry tree for silkworm feeding, but he learned the silk business in France.[1] His work in California, beginning as early as 1852, was a part of the experimenting by pioneers in the search for suitable crops to develop agricultural staples for the state.

Prevost began his silkworm experiments in 1854, the same year W. S. Letcher, the assemblyman from Santa Clara County, made the report of the committee on agriculture suggesting cultivation of "mulberry trees affording food for worms that might clothe the people in silks and satins."[2] The legislature and the recent immigrant agriculturists, with the subsidence of the gold fever, were just beginning to look for agricultural industries to develop the tremendous prospects for the state. Prevost asked Henry Hentsch, a Swiss banker in San Francisco, to order mulberry seeds and silkworm eggs for him. The seeds grew into fine trees. Thus it was Prevost who first introduced, in 1854, mulberry trees into California for feeding silkworms. The trees were of the

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superior Moretti variety of white mulberry discovered by Professor Moretti of Pavia, Lombardy, Italy, in 1815. Prevost used this variety to produce the first silk in California at his nursery on the Guadalupe River in San Jose in 1860 and later distributed this variety throughout the state.[3] The silkworm eggs imported from China the same year were either spoiled in transit or were unfertilized eggs and did not hatch. A second shipment received another year also failed to produce worms. A third shipment received hatched only a few worms which did not produce cocoons. In his disappointment Prevost destroyed a large part of his twenty-five thousand mulberry trees and almost gave up his efforts. Many accused the Chinese of sending unfit eggs purposely to prevent the development of a rival silk producing region. A batch of eggs received from France in 1860, through the continued efforts of Hentsch, proved to be healthy and hatched successfully. These worms produced fine cocoons, the first in California. Specimens of cocoons were sent to France and there pronounced of the finest quality.[4] The culture of silkworms now began in earnest.

The timing of Prevost's entry into sericulture was most fortunate, for it coincided with the misfortune of the silkworm growers of France whose cocooneries had become seriously infected with microscopic disease organisms. The diseases were not introduced into California until 1869; meanwhile California enjoyed a prosperous export market for all the eggs her growers could produce. It was at this time, the middle 1860's, that Louis Pasteur, the famous bacteriologist, was called upon by the French sericulturists to study the maladies of their silkworms. The industry was in near ruin in France, and the diseases spread soon to other countries of southern Europe and later to the Near East, China, and Japan. The diseases caused the worms to sicken and to die in their various stages of growth preceding the spinning of the cocoons from which the fibers of silk were produced. The most prominent disease was called the *pebrine* since its identifying symptom appeared in the form of small spots on the worms resembling black pepper; another disease, known as *flacherie*, also killed the worms. By 1866, after a few months of study, Pasteur had determined the methods of control of the diseases and had sent his assistants over the country, teaching his methods of following the strictest routines of sanitation in the feeding and care of the worms as well as caution in the selection of disease-free eggs.[5] By 1870 the French industry was well on the way to recovery when the Franco-Prussian War again brought disaster to it.

The rapid expansion of California sericulture followed Prevost's success. The high quality of cocoons and the disease-free eggs of the state won a reputation abroad; France and Mexico, and later Italy, began importing the eggs. Foreign silk growers ordered more eggs than the California growers could supply. The prosperity that struck the industry came from the sale of eggs and mulberry trees and not from the end product of raw silk. The industry spread from Santa Clara County to other parts of the state, plantings of trees grew from a few thousand to the cultivation of hundreds of thousands, and the production of cocoons expanded into the millions. The California legislature gave further encouragement with various laws that remained in effect from 1862 to 1869. The carelessly drawn law of 1866, offering extravagant bounties for the production of cocoons and the plantations of mulberry trees, brought an unhealthy speculative boom. This boom subsided when Governor Henry H. Haight in 1869 secured the repeal of the law by the legislature and when he himself refused to pay bounties not fairly earned.[6]

Prevost carried on his silk work in San Jose in connection with his nursery. He owned extensive grounds in the western suburbs of the city where he tried to make his place the most attractive in the suburbs by planting the finest imported flowers, shrubs, ornamentals, and fruit trees. The place, known as Prevost's Gardens, was open to the public, and for years Prevost kept open house in the large mansion in the middle of the gardens. On a platform above the roof of his mansion he raised silk cocoons.[7] He had two artesian wells to irrigate the grounds. He claimed his nursery contained one of the most extensive assortments of fruit trees, flowering plants, and ornamental shrubbery to be found in California.[8]

Prevost's financial gain in promoting the industry came from the sales of silkworm eggs and mulberry stocks from his nursery in San Jose. His work of promotion took many forms. He published a short article on silk culture in California in the transactions of the State Agricultural Society for 1864-65. He induced other persons to engage in the business: two ladies, named A. Packard and E. Goux, of Santa Barbara, started a plantation of three thousand trees and in 1864 raised five pounds of silkworm eggs.[9] He exhibited specimens and won premiums at agricultural fairs. He won recognition abroad for his products, a good strategy in gaining local repute.

Extensive writing by Prevost demonstrated his energy and ability. In 1867 his book, *California Silk Grower's Manual*, was published at San Francisco by Bancroft and Company. The first part of the book is comprised of reprints of his letters and articles published in newspapers and agricultural journals of the state. From the *California Farmer* alone there are twenty-six articles dating from November 26, 1856, to August 30, 1866. Prevost subscribed to three silk journals from Europe and translated articles from them for publication in California newspapers.[10] His book is well written: it is evident he was a careful student. A writer for the *California Farmer* who visited the silk enthusiasts at San Jose in 1869 stated: "We found our friend Prevost surrounded by a *fortification of letters and papers*, a regular embankment of silk materials, written and printed, and what gave us great pleasure was to see how happy this energetic friend of this cause was while thus surrounded with letters and papers from all sections of the State, and from all the Silk Districts of the old world."[11] Prevost was overcome with his enthusiasm, like so many other sericulturists. He related that he persisted in his interest in spite of the discouragement of a great many persons. Of course, in the long run these critics proved to be correct.

We see the work of Prevost in the *Memorial of the Committee of Pioneer Silk Growers of California* to the legislature in 1868. The memorialists asked the legislature not to repeal the silk bounty law of 1866 and here gave the usual arguments for support of the industry. At another time he asked the state legislature to subsidize publication of thirty thousand copies of his *California Silk Grower's Manual.*

Criticism of Prevost's "excessive enthusiasm" came later from two United States Department of Agriculture sericulturists, C. V. Riley and L. O. Howard. Riley said: "Had he been as prone to report failure as he was to magnify success there would not have been a reactive depression which was as unnatural as overenthusiasm." He thought Prevost's *Manual* was better designed to induce another Multicaulis insanity than to provide salutary stimulation and that the failure of silk culture in California was mostly due to the extravagant statements and enthusiasm verging on fanaticism which, he thought, characterized all the writings of Prevost. Howard stated that the *Manual's* "extravagant statements and immoderate pictures earned for its author the name *blaguer*, which had been applied to him in France."[13]

It is true that Prevost's statements are characteristic and typical of the journalistic exaggerations of other enthusiastic promoters of particular agricultural industries in other times and places. He claimed that a fair profit could be made producing silk in California because of the low price of land at that time and because of the rapid growth of the mulberry in the climate. These factors would offset the cheap labor advantage of other countries, he said. He boasted that San Jose would become a silk manufacturing center. His home town was flattered by the following statement: "San Jose is the Healthiest place in California, and probably in the world, and is near San Francisco by railroad. . . . We may expect that San Jose will eventually be the Lyons of California."[14] Prevost used an unsound economic argument often repeated to commend the silk industry in the United States. He reiterated in his book that he could see no reason why we should pay out millions of dollars annually to foreign countries for silk when we could produce it. We could produce it, of course, but only at a disadvantageous opportunity-cost in terms of labor better applied to other industries.

There were good reasons for optimism for the silk industry in California. The physical environment in California is as suitable as any in the world for sericulture: the soil is excellent for the production of the varieties of mulberry trees used for feeding the worms, and the equable climate is ideal. Other new agricultural industries were succeeding; there was reason to hope that by overcoming the economic problems of the silk industry it might also succeed. T. F. Cronise, the authority on the economy of California at this time, wrote: "Enough has been done on a large scale, in different localities, to prove that our mulberry leaves, our silk worms, our climate, and the silk we make, excel other silk countries in all these particulars." Cronise expected the industry to expand greatly in the immediate future and considered it clear that California would become one of "the foremost manufacturers of silk fabrics for the consumption of the world." It was estimated that there were four million mulberry trees in the state in 1868 and that the production of eggs was in proportion. The foreign demand for the eggs was so great that not enough were available to fill all orders or to use them for producing cocoons until 1870.[15]

Prevost also made himself prominent in Southern California by establishing a large mulberry tree nursery near Los Angeles and with it a large cocoonery for growing the silkworms. In 1869 he planned a colony of silk growers to rival the silk regions of his native *belle France*. This project took form as the California Silk Center Association. The association bought four thousand acres of the *rancho* of Juan Bandini (known as the Rubidoux Rancho), 1,460 acres of the Hartshorn Tract, and 3,169 acres of the Jurupa, the present site of the city of Riverside. He founded an association of silk weavers; he planned to hire Indian women as a source of low-cost labor. Profits of $1,000 to $1,200 per acre were made raising mulberry trees and eggs for sale to silk growers. Before the project could be developed, Prevost died of typhoid fever on August 16, 1869. The project received a serious setback and was reorganized by another promoter, Judge J. W. North and associates, who bought it in September, 1870, or very soon thereafter. North and his associates reorganized the land project as the Southern California Colony Association. Other silk associations, or colonies, were organized during the years following in various parts of the state; none of them, however, succeeded for any length of time.[16]

Silk manufacturing was another facet of the industry pursued in San Jose. Prevost joined others in the promotion of silk manufacturing. The leading promoter in silk manufacturing in San Jose was Joseph Neumann, a skilled silk weaver who had learned the business in the Brandenburg (Prussia) silk industry which had been established originally by Frederick the Great. In April, 1866, Neumann visited the Atlantic Coast and procured machinery for the establishment of his silk factory and brought back twenty-five silk looms.[17] Before the year was out "a number of pieces of dress silks and other goods were made, which, for lustre, beauty, and fineness, are said, by good judges, to compare favorably with the best quality of similar articles imported."[18] In June, 1867, with others, Neumann organized a larger company incorporated with a stated capital of $250,000, but the money was never paid in. A second attempt to get the Mechanics Pioneer Silk Factory incorporated and enlarged by selling $100,000 in capital stock failed also.[19] Neumann claimed that his work to start the large silk company was disrupted by "speculators" and others in San Jose who eventually caused his bankruptcy; he named General Henry M. Naglee as one of these. Nevertheless, Neumann's smaller Pioneer Silk Factory continued to operate in San Jose.[20]

In order to publicize the whole silk industry in California, Joseph Neumann called upon Governor Haight, in 1868, or 1869, to solicit his support for a project to manufacture two immense flags from California silk, one for the state of California and one for the United States. Although the governor did not believe in government subsidy to favor a particular industry, he did give most liberally from his own purse and helped in the enterprise. A collection was made to raise $6,000. When Governor Haight wrote persons in San Jose regarding the character and qualifications of Neumann, some wrote letters "disparaging and slandering" him, but Neumann explained this to the satisfaction of the governor, and the money was raised for the manufacture of the flags. However, the continued attacks on Neumann, he says, caused him to decide "to remove his machinery from San Jose to San Francisco, and give that noble city the honor of producing the first and grandest flags ever made on the continent." This was probably in 1869. The governor collected money from various private sources including the Bank of California, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and Seligman and Company, Bankers. Neumann, given to being critical of those opposing him, wrote of one who did not contribute: "I regret to say that when Isaac Friedlander, the great grain dealer, was called upon, he replied: 'I don't care a damn for the flag'; so no help was obtained there." Governor Haight gave $4,250 from his own purse. The first flag was completed in 1870 in Neumann's Pioneer Silk Factory. When the two flags were completed, they contained eighty yards of silk, the raw silk having been produced by silkworms in California. One of the flags was exhibited at the exposition in Vienna in 1873, at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, and in 1884 it was placed in the Smithsonian Institute.[21]

During the 1870's the fortunes of the silk industry in San Jose followed those of the industry in the rest of the state. As the French, Italian, and other silk-growing regions adopted the practices of strict sanitation in their cocooneries laid down by Louis Pasteur, their industries revived. The foreign demand for California silkworm eggs declined after 1870 until it ceased altogether in 1876. The industry never did succeed economically in the production of its end product, the cocoons, for use in the manufacture of silken goods. Nevertheless, many individuals pursued the work of producing cocoons during this time.

At some time during the early 1880's the San Jose Silk Factory began producing dress silks. A stock company engaged in the business failed, and it was taken over by two experienced silk workers, A. F. Sauffrignon and H. X. Van De Casteele, at the beginning of 1883. They employed from ten to twenty workers and finished from sixty to seventy yards of goods per day. The product was sold in stores in the larger cities of California. By far the greater part of the raw material, however, was not silk produced in California but was imported.

In 1870 economic depression and unemployment stirred a group of ladies and other public-spirited citizens to organize the California Silk Culture Association, but their work was centered in San Francisco. The efforts of this association led to the creation by the state legislature of the State Board of Silk Culture during the 1880's. The board voted to offer premiums amounting to $150 in 1883 for the best silk cocoons raised in the state. From the first to the fifth prizes, premiums of $50, $40, $30, $20, and $10 were offered. The cocoons were to be exhibited in Sacramento at the State Fair in September. The first four prizes were carried away by exhibitors from San Jose; the first prize, for cocoons used by the state's silk reeling establishment at San Francisco, was shared by Mrs. Louise Rienzi and R. W. Mantz of San Jose.[22] Mrs. Rienzi was author of the sericultural manual distributed by the State Board of Silk Culture from 1886 to 1888.[23]

Prevost was fortunate in that the decade of his sericultural activities corresponded with the disease-caused depression of the European silk industry. He was buried in the Masonic lot of the Oak Hill Cemetery in San Jose. His gravestone carries this inscription:

IN MEMORY OF
LOUIS PREVOST
PIONEER SILK CULTURIST
OF THE PACIFIC COAST
BORN AT REUX, FRANCE
AUG. 9, 1807, DIED AUG. 16,
1869, IN THE 62ND YEAR OF
HIS AGE

## NOTES

1. *Alta California,* August 14, 1860, and August 17, 1869.

2. Rockwell O. Hunt, *California Firsts,* p. 126.

3. E. O. Essig, "Silk Culture in California," Circular 363 (October, 1945), University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, Berkeley, p. 9.

4. United States Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report,* 1866, p. 601.

5. Rene J. Dubos, *Louis Pasteur Free Lance of Science,* p. 210.

6. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California,* VIII, 33.

7. E. T. Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara County,* pp. 102-3.

8. Prevost, *Manual,* p. 13.

9. L. O. Howard, "The United States Department of Agriculture and Silk Culture," U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, *Yearbook,* 1903, p. 138.

10. *Manual,* p. 245.

11. *The California Farmer,* XXXI (January 28, 1869), 9.

12. *Memorial of L. Prevost in Relation to Publishing Information on Silk Culture of California* (n.p., n.d.).

13. Howard, *op. cit.,* p. 139.

14. A reference to the center of the silk cloth industry in France at that time. Prevost, *Manual,* p. 244.

15. T. F. Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California,* pp. 393-4.

16. E. O. Essig, *History of Entomology,* p. 231, and "Silk Culture in California," p. 1; also, *Report* of the Assembly Interim Committee to Inquire Into the Possibilities of Silk Production and Industry in California . . ., 56th Session, p. 9.

17. Frederic Hall, *The History of San Jose and Surroundings,* p. 305.

18. U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report,* 1866, p. 60.

19. *California Farmer,* XXIX (January 23, 1868), 17.

20. *Ibid.,* XXXI (January 28, 1869), 9.

21. *Memorial* of Jos. Neumann, Relative to the American Flag Presented to the State, pp. 6-13.

22. California State Board of Silk Culture, *Report,* 1883, p. 38.

23. *General Instructions for Rearing Silkworms.*

# The Long Lost Ecclesiastical Diary of Archbishop Alemany

### *Edited and Translated by* FRANCIS J. WEBER

WITH THE ERECTION of California's first metropolitan province in 1853, most of the official documentation of the earlier jurisdictions passed on to the archdiocese of San Francisco, and from that time onwards a rather continuous journal of ecclesiastical events was systematically catalogued in the various chancery registers. However, it is clear from a close examination of the oldest volume, the Libro Borrador (1840-1882), that José Sadoc Alemany recorded the bulk of his pre-1854 activities in some other source since the entries there are so infrequent and sketchy. When a thorough search of the archives of the archdiocese of San Francisco failed to produce such a volume, this author began wondering if the "lost" chronicle could have been among those effects the archbishop took back to Spain when he retired in 1885. Such a view seemed tenable enough in light of the collection of Alemany's letters published in 1925 by his nephew, Don Antonio.[1]

The matter was brought up in September of 1962 while visiting the Alamany[2] family in Barcelona. Don Antonio, who recalls quite vividly the archbishop's funeral in 1888, remembered having seen a group of papers thought to be his uncle's Day Book but believed them to be among the books and religious objects burned during the Communist takeover of the city in the late 1930's. What was a spirited theory then became a crumbled fact!

Several weeks later, a most welcome letter from Señor Alamany reached us in Rome with news that a refurbishment of the family's apartment at Avila 72 had unearthed, behind a hidden book shelf, the

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"group of papers" to which he referred. On our return to Barcelona, the family generously entrusted the twenty-four pages of faded notes to the archives of the archdiocese of Los Angeles.

In presenting this diary, it was found necessary to paraphrase[3] and, in some cases, shorten and simplify certain entries because of their complex and cumbersome style. Nonetheless, the text here produced remains as substantially accurate as the limitations of scholarship and language allow. In order to keep the entries within reasonable bounds, a number of unimportant and routine notations, and several indecipherable passages, have been omitted.

*June 11th* [1850] Cardinal Fransoni[4] tells me that I am the bishop of Monterey and that I should soon prepare for consecration. No! They had written for me to the nuncio at Naples.[5]

*June 12th* Consult my confessor who sends me to the vicar general.[6] He permits me to make a humble and modest resignation if that is agreeable with the Pope.

*June 16th* Have an audience with the Holy Father. Before allowing me to refuse, he says that it is necessary that I go to Monterey. "You must go to California; there is no alternative. Where others are drawn by gold, you must go to carry the cross. God will assist you." "Holy Father, while it is not my wish to oppose the will of God, I must point out my lack of qualifications for the bishopric and ask Your Holiness for permission to refuse the nomination." The Pontiff answers, "I appreciate the prudence which prompts your reply but it is for me to judge in this matter. According to Saint Thomas, prudence and obedience are equally necessary virtues and the wish of Christ's Vicar is the will of God for you. Do not ponder over what to say or do for the Lord will direct you at the proper time."[7]

*June 17th* Speak with Cardinal Fransoni, my confessor, and the general. Write to Sister Rosa and Father Whelan[8] informing them of the appointment.

*June 18th* Obtain permission to accept the nomination from the vicar general.

*June 21st* Commence my retreat at Santa Sabina[9] which is to last for eight days. My brothers[10] arrive from Perusia and Viterbo.

*June 29th* Go to Saint Peter's to celebrate Holy Mass at the tomb of Peter. Later attend the Pope's Mass.

*June 30th* Monsignor Angelo Rammuzzotti, bishop-elect of Pavia and I are consecrated by Giacomo Cardinal Fransoni attended by Monsignors Giovanni Dominic Stefanelli, Titular Archbishop of Trajanopolis, and Guiseppe Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem. The ceremony takes place in the church of San Carlos al Corso. Afterwards the cardinal gives a dinner at the college and then we pay an *ad limina* visit to Peter's tomb.

*July 1st* Visit the cardinals on the board of the congregation of propaganda fide.

*July 3rd* Father Joseph Vilarrasa is assigned to my jurisdiction.

*July 4th* Go to Saint Paul's for Mass and later to the three fountains.[11] Then to the catacombs of Saint Sebastian where the bones of 164,000 martyrs are interred along with some forty popes. See the altar erected by a Roman matron[12] to honor Sebastian and wherein the relics of the saints were once entombed. Also gaze at the spot where formerly[13] the remains of Saints Peter and Paul were hidden as well as many of the early pontiffs. During visit to three fountains, I taste the water of each and see the column where the saint's decapitated head was placed.[14] Touch the column with my pectoral cross.

*July 6th* Visit Pius IX along with Father Vilarrasa, my two brothers, and the procurator of the Philippines. Offer the Holy Father $100, but he refuses to accept it. He gives me a silver chalice for my personal use in California.[15] At the earlier audience the Pope had given me some silver medals, one for myself and another for Sister Mary Pius Fitzpatrick.

*July 9th* Journey to Marino for some paintings from San Felice and to see if Sister Rosa wishes to come to California. The Pope has no objections.

*July 18th* The highly educated Thomas Gerbolini volunteers. Gigli considers it, but others are opposed, and the matter is referred to the local provincial. Cardinal Barberini gives me a nice picture of the Blessed Mother copied from the supposedly miraculous one by Saint Andrew at Ratisbon.

*July 22nd* Father Vilarrasa leaves for Ravenna. Suffer the fever for seven days.

*July 28th* Perform my first pontifical services on the feast of the Virgin Mary.

*July 30th* Leave Rome for Civitá Vecchia.

*August 8th* Arrive at Marseilles. Books, medals, rosaries, and pictures make up three packages and are being sent on to New York, then to California. Cost for duty and license is about 8 francs. Lodge with Gabriel Salavy at Rue d'Armany 21.

*August 10th* Leave for Lyons where Pères Maristes give me hospitality.

*August 16th* Send off a plea to the Association de la Propagation de la Foi and its presiding officer, Baron de Jesse, that I be allowed to appear and submit my request both in writing and in person. Promise to write Archbishop Claret[16] and others in California. Mr. Vanel, of Rue St. Marcell 44, pays me two visits giving me money each time.

*August 20th* Receive a visit in Paris from the superior of the Picpus Fathers and one of their archbishops who says I may have Father Welch of the Sandwich Islands.

*August 21st* The secretary of Propagation de la Foi[17] visits me and pays 10,000 francs for 1849 and promises an additional sum next March for 1850. He requests me to establish the society in California and says I can retain the proceeds provided an accounting is made to the Paris office. Write to Bishop Miles[18] about recent happenings. A good Third Order Dominican sister of Paris offers to come to my diocese as does her superior provided she can live in a convent of the Second Order. Both are good teachers. Promise to have breakfast with the nuns on the 27th at 9 a.m.

*August 27th* Left 3,500 francs with Father Assant, prior of Paris Dominicans, for future need while in Europe. Mr. Lieberman, president of the seminary of the Holy Spirit in Paris, will find a place and some seminary to educate young men in Latin for California. Visit the Lazarist Fathers and the Daughters of Charity. Superiors were absent but was given encouragement for a California establishment if protected and aided. Contact Father Maller[19] in the United States about this.

*August 30th* Start for London. Pay 100 francs for trunks.

*August 31st* Say Mass at the Oratory of King William, Strand 24. Speak with Father Faber[20] about sending over priests. He sends me to the superior, Father Henry Newman[21] at Birmingham.

*September 1st* Start for Birmingham and see Father Newman who gives me some encouragement. Everyone was very kind.

*September 2nd* Arrive and leave Liverpool for Dublin. Arrive at Dominican convent on Denmark Street. Visit All Hallows and talk with Doctor Moriarty, the rector, and his assistant, Dr. Woodlock. They take my wants to heart.

*September 4th* Visit Carlow College[22] and Dr. Walsh, its president. He proposes Messrs. John Quinn and McCartey and both accept. Deposit fifty pounds sterling for outfit and voyage of Quinn and Richard Carroll, also pledged to my diocese. The first is to come next spring, the other twelve months later. Students are educated for five pounds per year.

*September 5th* Receive Father Eugene O'Connell,[23] a very good priest, who wants to come to California if his college of All Hallows can allow it. The president agrees if an annual sum of five pounds can be set aside to provide for his elderly mother. Mr. Organ, a third divinity student, perhaps will come. Write to London, Golden Square 5, whether Father John Coyle should be accepted.

*September 6th* Leave with Dr. Robert A. White, O.P., twenty-six pounds sterling and 120 American dollars (12 large eagles) to be applied by him for two subjects' expenses to my diocese. Leave signed dimissorials which Father White may use at his discretion. Go to Maynooth College. Find them on retreat; yet the very kind Doctor Walter Lee takes me around the magnificent Gothic buildings. The president will try to find a few good students in third or fourth divinity for presentation to Doctor White.

*September 7th* Find our people in Liverpool but not in time for steamer. Inform Father Newman that I will ordain his men without binding them[24] if they serve one or two years in California. News from All Hallows concerning O'Connell is favorable. He may return later with a few Indians to be trained in Ireland.

*September 10th* Write to the sisters of Saint Magdalen and Somerset asking an immediate answer whether they will agree to my plan of leaving the French sisters on an exchange basis. Write to my brothers in Italy telling them I could not find anywhere a person willing to exchange.[25]

*September 11th* Send an encouraging letter to Father O'Connell. Learn of another priest from Toulouse who has already gone to California. Pay Captain McCerran of the ship *Columbus* ninety pounds sterling for the passage of seven people and leave for New York. Good wind until the eve of 17th.

*December 7th* Joseph Ballaffett owes me $108 and pays me only 250 francs, all he can put together. He had asked me to pay his passage from New York to Chagres and to Panama. I was too easy. Remember it! Arrive safely at San Francisco, The Vicar General, Father Langlois,[26] appointed by the capitular, is absent. All are happy until sad news of Father Anderson's[27] death is announced.

*December 8th* Preach at my last Mass in English and Spanish and in the afternoon in French. The Catholics joyfully receive me in the school room after High Mass.

*December 9th* The vicar general arrives.

*December 10th* Formal reception is given by the people of this city.[28] They offer me as part of their welcoming $1,000 in gold dust worth $10 per ounce. Jesuit Father Nobili is here.

*December 11th* Baptize the child of Mr. Dillon,[29] a French count.

*December 12th* Visit the mission of San Francisco, part of which is occupied by the Fathers and part by others—by consent or agreement of the Mexican patron. Bells ring out to welcome me. There is a Picpus Father at Carmel near Monterey and possibly one at Santa Inés. Learn while at the mission that an Indian some time ago was sick with cholera and was very anxious to receive the Sacraments. Another native took him on his back and carried him over a league and a half to the mission not knowing whether he would die before a priest could arrive. He was prepared for death at the mission and died two days later. Captain Frisby of Benicia tells me he may be able to lay out grounds for a church, school, and hospital in his proposed town. Father Anderson's subscriptions amounted to upwards of $2,000 for a church at Happy Valley. At San José or Pueblo there is a large mission and buildings partly occupied by a priest. At Sonoma little remains of the mission. Father Delmas experienced difficulties trying to get possession.

*December 13th* Write to Mr. Duniga to let me have the books of Father Anderson.

*December 15th* Learn at Santa Bárbara that Father Langlois has resigned as vicar general.

*December 18th* Arrive at San Pedro and later at the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles which has about 5,000 inhabitants. The church is 100 by 30 feet. Fathers José Jimeno and Francisco Sánchez, both Franciscans, are the good priests here.

*December 20th* Arrive at San Fernando and tarry two days.

*December 23rd* Get to San Buenaventura where Father Alexander Branchi welcomes us.

*December 25th* Celebrate one Mass at San Buenaventura and at 11 o'clock arrive at Santa Bárbara to be welcomed by the people. Say two more Masses and then show the papal bulls to the vicar capitular, Father González Rubio.

*December 26th* Also present my ordination papers to the vicar who gives me a copy of the pastoral letter issued by my beloved predecessor, Francisco García Diego y Moreno. Speak at length with Father José Jimeno about the seminary at Santa Inés.

*December 27th* Some eighteen ladies from Santa Bárbara visit me begging me to retain Father Rubio. We journey to the rancho of San Francisco Xavier about a league from Santa Bárbara. The 200 Indians living there in huts fall to their knees at my arrival for a blessing. The population of Santa Bárbara is around 1,200 mostly Spanish-speaking.

*December 28th* General Kearny has ordered that until the United States Government at Washington decides otherwise, the priests are to remain at the missions.

*December 29th* Father Rubio repeats before all the community at Santa Bárbara that the pontifical instruments, crozier, chalice, etc., belong to me by the express wish of the late Bishop García Diego. There is an order here from the governor, dated one or two years ago, that the churches and adjoining houses are to be handed over to the church. Father Rubio agrees with my plan to house the religious. Sad state of affairs at San Gabriel is outlined.

*December 30th* Take possession of the account book. Case of Father Santillán's poisoning is related.

*January 1st* [1851] Church is crowded for Pontifical Mass. Preach after Gospel and later give the papal blessing. People come from forty miles around. Use *cappa magna* of García Diego.

*January 6th* Examine the government titles and deeds of San Miguel, San Luis Obispo, and San Buenaventura.

*January 7th* Find important order from Mexican Government, dated November 17, 1840, by which, in conformity with an earlier order of 1835, all must be restored to the missions.

*January 8th* See a circular from Mason[30] (dated August 23, 1847), prohibiting any civil officials from marrying Catholics. It is to be left to the priests. Also note a document where $500 annually is granted by Governor Micheltorena for the seminary at Santa Inés.

*January 10th* Read a strongly worded letter from the Mexican Government to the vicar capitular stating that all churches, houses, possessions, goods attached or pertaining to the missions are the property of the Catholic Church and the United States is pledged by treaty to give all these things over.

*January 21st* Bless the chapel of Saint Francis Xavier en la Cienguita according to the formula in the Roman ritual.

*January 28th* Arrive at Monterey, my titular city.

*January 30th* Write to Archbishop Eccleston[31] about past and present condition of diocese and the will of the citizens and the friars that I reside with them. Also mention the necessity of the Spanish language.

*February 2nd* Celebrate Pontifical Mass and preach in Spanish and English. Next day confirm eighty-two persons.

*February 7th* Picpus Fathers accept my offer of Los Angeles.[32] Later on, with their approval, I will give the parish there to the Franciscans. Leave for San Francisco.

*February 10th* Speak with Father Nobili[33] about a college at Santa Clara. Might perhaps help a little and get the Sisters of Notre Dame.

*February 14th* Write to Father O'Connell to come with another priest. Also write to Cardinal Fransoni and inform him that the vicar apostolic of Baja California should be a zealous and good man.[34] Ask my brother Ignatius to send three novices to Paris. Notify President of Mexico, "I have arrived." Likewise inform the archbishop of Mexico City and ask him to get a lawyer to examine the legal aspects of the titles to the missions.[35] Is Tridentine legislation promulgated here?

*February 15th* Purchase a frame house, 12 by 20 feet.

*February 16th* Confirm thirty people at Mission Dolores. Have meeting in the school room about getting the Sisters of Charity for San Francisco. $1,500 subscribed.

*February 23rd* Bless the church at Sacramento in presence of great crowd.

*February 28th* Show documents on Pious Fund to Mr. Warren.[36]

*March 5th* Leave for Monterey with Father Vilarrasa and Mother Mary Goemare.

*March 6th* Mr. William Hartnell gives us his home for twelve months.

*March 7th* Celebrate High Mass to signal opening of the convent under title of Saint Catherine. Patents are made out and distributed.

*March 12th* Visit Carmel and confirm twelve.

*March 16th* Appoint Father Llebaria pastor of Santa Cruz.

*March 19th* Preach at San José or Pueblo and remain for three days. Try to obtain funds for a school.

*March 21st* See Mr. Burnett[37] for his opinion whether the government will give us any less than a square mile at each mission.

*March 26th* Propose to Charles Botts that he transact my temporal affairs regarding the missions.

*March 29th* Write to de la Guerra sending a document on the Pious Fund to be returned. Also send two resolutions for the school question.

*March 31st* Suggest to Archbishop Eccleston that the diocese be made suffragan to an archbishop in the United States.[38] Enclose a letter for the Pope directed to Cardinal Fransoni if he approves it.

*April 6th* Captain Weber[39] offers a fine lot for a church at Stockton. I subscribe $100.

*April 23rd* Will concede all jurisdiction to Franciscans except what the canons or regulations of the diocese direct to the contrary.

*April 24th* Request from Father Rubio a history of the temporal administration of the diocese.

*May 8th* Open the school [at Los Angeles?] with twenty-six scholars.

*May 14th* Will make a visitation of Baja California if no one else will do it. Pacificus Ord recommends Robert Walker as a very good agent in Washington.

*June 1st* Confirm at Sonoma. Church in fair condition. Up to January 1, 1840, there had been 1,491 baptisms here. Napa is a fine little town with about fifty houses.

*June 16th* Hundreds testify that Father Magin Catalá, O.F.M., of Santa Clara, had the gift of prophecy. When he said, "let us recite an Our Father for the unfortunate person that will die next Tuesday," or the like, it was so.

*June 17th* Notify Father Coyle that his services are no longer required in this diocese. Faculties withdrawn.

*June 19th* Visit Saint Anthony Church at Temescal. Great preparations. All men and women busy clearing a square and fixing the altar. Fifty are confirmed.

*July 6th* Blessed the church of Saint Francis.

*July 21st* Mr. Welch, who has lived at this mission for some five or six years, says he was allowed to do so by Father Real.

*July 27th* Visit the pueblo of San José. Church is filled, 164 confirmations.

*July 30th* Tour the quick-silver mines. Bless nearby graveyard. Give authority to build a chapel and leave instructions for the pastor to straighten up the problem of the deeds.

*August 11th* Write to the archbishop of Chalcedon,[40] superior general of the Picpus Fathers that his men can retain enough of Mission Dolores for a college and gardens. Notify Father Accolti that Oblates may stay at Santa Inés until I give them another place.

*August 14th* Arrive at Mission San Antonio. Large fine church with six chalices.

*August 16th* Bless church and graveyard at San Miguel.

*August 17th* Confirm ninety persons at San Luis Obispo.

*August 20th* Pass within three leagues of Purísima but no one there so pass it by.

*August 21st* Arrive at Santa Inés.

*October 26th* Arrive at Monterey for my long visitation.

*October 28th* Write to Father Santillán that perhaps the missions were not sold legally. Ask him to send me an authenticated copy of contracts and lists of rents.

*November 4th* Make verbal contract with Manuel Jimeno about his house. Pay $2,000 and the other $3,000 in from two to five years.

*November 7th* Write Cardinal Fransoni about who would govern this diocese in the event of my death. Include a petition to Pope for two or more convents or colleges.

*November 14th* Acknowledge arrival of books from Europe. Write to Juan Rodríguez of San Miguel and send him power of attorney to recover the Pious Fund and the interest thereof.

*November 23rd* Father Nobili is *pro tem* pastor at Pueblo.

*December 2nd* Write to Antonio Alamany that the Franciscans here want some additional friars and one or two good lay brothers. They will pay travel expenses. Relate status of my diocese to Archbishop Hughes.[41] Tell him I will go to Mexico.

*December 4th* Write to the bishop of Philadelphia[42] about many questions. Also write the archbishop of Mexico City[43] informing him of the brief from Rome permitting me to attend the Council of Baltimore. Ask his indulgence to visit Mexico.

*January 22nd* [1852] Send pastorals for retreat and conference to the clergy.

*January 29th* Name Father Accolti to give retreat.

*May 2nd* Arrive at New York. Contact C. Dunnigan for 2,000 Spanish catechisms.

*May 4th* Leave for Emmitsburg and receive favorable decisions allowing six nuns to open an orphan asylum and day school in San Francisco.

*May 7th* Go to Baltimore.

*May 9th* Council[44] opens with procession from the archbishop's house to the church, priests with chasubles and bishops with mitres and copes. Make profession of faith.

*May 20th* Committee on temporal affairs agrees that I should claim the Pious Fund for my people to whom it belongs. I should not leave it to the government but should initiate legal proceedings in Washington.

*May 21st* Council closes with procession, High Mass, sermon, and reading of the decrees.

*May 23rd* Contact Judge Beverly Johnson to aid me in the Pious Fund case at Washington.

*May 27th* Received by the President[45] who welcomes my interest in the affairs. Asks me to submit a letter on the matter and offers the services of the American Minister in Mexico.

*May 29th* Get letter from the acting Secretary of State for the American Minister in the Mexican capital.

*October 11th* Leave Mexico and appoint Don Pedro Ramírez my agent for temporal affairs.

*October 23rd* Arrive in Acapulco. D. Guadalupe Andrade is very kind. Confirm many people each day.

*October 28th* Leave for Tennessee.

*November 6th* Arrive at Monterey with two postulants from Mexico for the sisters and one subdeacon for Father Vilarrasa (*pro tem* he is attached to my jurisdiction).

*November 8th* Write to Father Rubio that I need O'Connell.

*November 22nd* Inquire of Father Dominic Blaive about affairs in Stockton. Send pastoral letter on jubilee and the Baltimore Council.

*November 28th* Ordain John Quinn to the priesthood. Appoint Father O'Connell pastor of San Francisco Church for English.

*January 1st* [1853] Make offer of Lower California to Father Rubio.[46]

*January 6th* Propose to the people of Santa Bárbara the establishment of a college of missionaries and ask their assistance.

*July 3rd* Bless and dedicate the church at Sonoma.

*July 14th* Lay the cornerstone of Saint Mary's Church on California Street under her title of the Immaculate Conception. $419.88 collected on the occasion. Father Gallagher is the pastor.

## NOTES

1. *Biografía del Ilmo. y Rmo. Fray José Sadoc Alamany Conill* (Vich, 1925).

2. The family spells its name with the "a" rather than the "e" used by the archbishop. Catalan is a spoken language rather than a written one and youngsters rarely learn the laws of vowels so necessary to most languages.

3. Besides English, the archbishop used Italian, Spanish, French, Catalan, and Latin throughout the diary.

4. As Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Giacomo

Cardinal Fransoni was virtually in charge of Catholic activities in the United States.

5. The papal bulls were actually dated May 31, 1850. *Cf.* archives of the archdiocese of Los Angeles.

6. Jerome Gigli was then vicar general of the Order of Preachers.

7. A slightly different version of this conversation is contained in Antonio Alamany, *Biografía del Ilmo. y Rmo. Fray José Sadoc Alamany Conill* (Vich, 1925), pp. 21-22.

8. James Whelan, O.P., later became bishop of Nashville, Tennessee.

9. Santa Sabina is the motherhouse of the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans, in Rome.

10. Manuel (1817-1903) and Juan (1826-1882).

11. Known in Rome as the Fontana Paulina.

12. Lucina, the wife of a high government official.

13. During the persecution of the Emperor Valerian.

14. According to tradition, Paul was beheaded by order of Nero on a little hill under a pine tree, his head striking the earth three times as it fell. In each place a fountain welled up out of the ground, and these fountains were later given their present ornamentation.

15. This chalice is presently in the possession of Antonio Alamany who keeps it in the Dominican convent at Vich. The editor used it for Holy Mass on September 7, 1962.

16. Anthony Claret has since been canonized.

17. The Association de la Propagation de la Foi dans les Deux-Mondes, founded in 1822, had as its purpose the extending of the Catholic Faith by dispensing alms collected from its worldwide organization. The association had offices at Paris, Lyons, and Fribourg.

18. Richard Pius Miles, O.P., of Nashville, Tennessee.

19. Father Mariano Maller, C.M., was then provincial in the United States.

20. Frederick William Faber (1814-1863) was a widely known and respected convert-priest, the author of many volumes on asceticism and allied subjects.

21. John Henry Newman (1801-1890) established the Oratorian Fathers and later became a Cardinal-deacon. His cause has been opened for beatification.

22. More properly known as Saint Patrick's College at Carlow.

23. Eugene O'Connell (1815-1891) later became the vicar apostolic of Marysville and subsequently the bishop of Grass Valley.

24. Normally those ordained priests are given a "title" which binds them to a locale or religious community for life.

25. Probably the bishop's brothers had volunteered for the California missions but were bound to find their own replacements before being released. There is no evidence that either was ever able to leave Europe.

26. Anthony Langlois (1812-1892) had been in California about a year and was among the outstanding early clergymen of the state.

27. Father Peter Anderson had only recently arrived in California after a decade of missionary work in Kentucky and Ohio. Shortly after starting work on Saint Rose's Church in Sacramento, Anderson contacted Asiatic cholera and died November 27, 1850.

28. This address is reproduced in Francis J. Weber, *Right Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., Bishop of Monterey* (Van Nuys, 1961), pp. 27-28.

29. Possibly this was Patrice Dillon, French consul to San Francisco, 1850-56.

30. Colonel Richard B. Mason had succeeded Stephen Kearny as military governor.

31. As archbishop of Baltimore, Samuel Eccleston was the *ex officio* spokesman of the Pope in the United States during those years.

32. Probably relates to the opening of a school in Los Angeles.

33. Michael Nobili, S.J., has been termed "Founder of the Jesuits in Alta California."

34. Alemany had already put out feelers to have the peninsula removed from his jurisdiction.

35. *Cf.* Francis J. Weber, "The Pious Fund of the Californias," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLIII (February, 1963), for a sketch of the legal history of this famous case.

36. Probably Francis E. Warren.

37. Peter H. Burnett, the governor of California.

38. At the time the diocese of Monterey was subject directly to the Holy See.

39. Charles María Weber is known as the "Founder of Stockton."

40. J. D. Bonamie.

41. John Hughes of New York was an old time friend of Alemany.

42. John N. Neumann, C.Ss.R.

43. Lázaro de la Garza y Ballesteros.

44. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore convened under the leadership of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick.

45. Millard Fillmore was then in office.

46. Rubio refused to allow his name to be considered. Early in 1853 the peninsula was removed from Alemany's jurisdiction and placed under the care of the archbishop of Mexico City.

# A Study of Graduate Research in California History in California Colleges and Universities

*(Continued)*

By Pamela A. Bleich

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## SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE

10.0 Master's Theses.

10.1 Briggs, Robert. *The Sacramento Valley Railroad, 1853-1865.* 1954.
Organization, financing, construction, and operation of the railroad. Sources: documents—government (state), nonpublic (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.2 Browne, Jack. *Eighteen Unratified Indian Treaties in California, 1851-1863.* 1958.
This work has been lost.

10.3 Colle, Nellie. *Consolidation of City and County Government, 1858-1863.* 1958.
The proposed consolidation act of 1858, an evaluation of factors bringing it about in 1858 and factors behind its rejection in 1863. Sources: documents—government (state, county, city); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.4 Davis, Leonard. *A Study of an Early California Mining Camp: Auburn, 1848-1851.* 1953.
Contents: Claude Chana and discovery of gold; naming the camp; transportation routes to the diggings; social, economic, and political aspects of camp life. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

10.5 Enochs, Elizabeth. *A Study of Place Names in the American River Drainage System, 1848-1854.* 1957.
A regional study of factors which enter into place naming—geography, people, and events. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

10.6 Hoyt, Hugh. *The Wheat Industry in California, 1850-1910.* 1953.
This work has been lost.

10.7 Jewell, Harold. *The Development of Governmental Restraints on Hydraulic Mining in California.* 1955.
From 1843 to 1949 with emphasis on the development of the problem of mining debris, litigation to stop or regulate hydraulic mining, and decline of the industry. Sources: Documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.8 Lehr, Ernest. *Sutterville: the Unsuccessful Attempt to Establish a Town Safe from Floods.* 1958.
A study of the reasons for selecting the townsite, the efforts to build the town, and the failure of the town. Includes a brief history of the brewery building that was on the Sutterville Road. Sources: documents—government (county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.9 Lopes, Frank. *A History of Grass Valley, 1849-1855.* 1956.
Topics covered: Indians; mining; social and cultural conditions; plans for building a plankroad and railroad; establishment of government and fire protection. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.10 Raber, Eldon. *Conversion of Cultivable Land to Noncultivable Uses in California.* 1959.
A study of state efforts to protect cultivable land through legislation and exclusive zoning, and a survey of land conversion. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.11 Roberts, Wayne. *A History of Early Folsom, California, from 1842-1862.* 1954.
Folsom from settlement and gold mining days to beginnings of a city and an industrial and transportation center. Sources: documents—government (federal), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

10.12 Ryan, T. Antoinette. *An Analysis of the Relation between Old Age Assistance and Organized Pension Plans in California.* 1951.
The author traces the history of old age assistance, and analyzes 19 pension plans (leaders, sources of income, purposes, organization, legislative program, public reaction, etc.) and compares their relationship with the state assistance program, 1931-1951. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.13 Swanson, John. *The Development of Line Administration as Trainers: the Program of the California State Personnel Board.* 1956.
History and evaluation of State Personnel Board activities in its line administration training program in two state agencies. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); periodicals; secondary.

10.14 Travis, Donald. *A Study of Technocracy: the Theory and the Movement.* 1957.

A history of the movement, and an analysis of the theory and its economic, social, and political impact on the state. Sources: newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

10.15 Wood, Forrest. *A Frontier Newspaper and the Civil War Period: the Sacramento Union, 1851-65.* 1958.
A study of the newspaper and its political position with regards to the North-South conflict of the 1850's and the Civil War. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

## SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE

11.0 Master's Theses.

11.1 Clarkson, Edward. *Ellen Browning Scripps: a Biography.* 1958.
The philanthropic activities and life of one of San Diego's cultural benefactors, 1836-1932. Sources: documents—government (federal, county), nonpublic (organization); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

11.2 Donley, Ward. *Alonzo Horton, Founder of Modern San Diego.* 1952.
A brief biography of Horton as civic leader, city founder, land speculator, merchant, hotel and wharf builder, 1867-1909. Sources: documents—government (county), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

11.3 Ellis, George. *Trapper Trails to California 1826-1832; the Narrative Journals, Diaries, and Letters of the Mountain Men Who Reached California Over the Southern Routes.* 1954.
A selection of works as a part of the early phase of California literary culture, noting the impact of the works upon the nation and their contributions towards understanding the history of the period. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

11.4 Grugal, Donald. *Military Movements into San Diego from the Mexican War to Statehood. 1846-1850.* 1950.
San Diego as an American military base, noting the pro-American attitudes of the natives, General Kearny's Army of the West, March of the Saints, Battle of San Pascual, etc. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

11.5 Hawes, William. *The Pioneer Development of Aviation in San Diego.* 1953.
From John Montgomery's controlled wing flight in 1883 to development of military interest and Congressional approval for an aviation section of the Army Signal Corps in 1914. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

11.6 Hevener, Harold. *The Pueblo Lands of the City of San Diego, 1769-1950.* 1950.

An account of the disposal of the 43,000 acres of pueblo-owned lands of 1542 to 500 acres of city owned lands of 1950. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

11.7 Jones, Ollie. *Rancho Santa Margarita y las Flores.* 1957.
An account of ownership and development of a cattle ranch from the time of the land grant in 1841 to the sale to the United State government in 1941. Sources: documents—government (state, county), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

11.8 King, Francis. *Frank A. Kimball, Pioneer of National City.* 1950.
The role of Kimball in the development of the Rancho de la Nacíon and National City, 1868-1913. Sources: Manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

11.9 McGhee, Earl. *E. W. Morse, Pioneer Merchant and Co-founder of San Diego.* 1950.
Morse as cofounder of San Diego with E. A. Horton, emphasizing his activities as newspaperman, banker, farmer, land speculator, civic leader, merchant, 1850-1906. Sources: documents—government (city), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

11.10 Telfer, William. *Early Transportation Arteries of San Diego County.* 1951.
A study of the routes as of 1951 and their historical development from the voyages of discovery in 1539 to the coming of the railroad in 1884. Sources: documents—government (county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

11.11 Vogler, William. *Silk, Iron, and Oil in San Diego County from 1900 to 1910.* 1953.
A study of the efforts to create export products or possible manufactured products, 1873-1953. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

## SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE

13.0 Master's Theses.

13.1 Leupp, Richard. *Disloyal Sentiment in California During the Ante-Bellum and Civil War Period.* 1958.
Disloyal sentiment as dissatisfaction with federal government policies. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary.

## SAN JOSE STATE COLLEGE

14.0 Master's Theses.

14.1 Brown, Donald. *The New Almadén Quicksilver Mines, 1824-1890.* 1958.
Significance of the mine in California history: discovery and location, title litigation in land claims crisis, mine operations under Samuel Butterworth and James Randol. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

14.2 House, James. *Editorial Opinions of Selected San Francisco Bay Area Newspapers on American Entrance into the Spanish-American War.* 1956.
An investigation of topics as expressed in 1895: possible success of the rebellion in Cuba, proposed American recognition or intervention, Spanish conduct of the war, the de Lome letter, and the *Maine* disaster. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

14.3 Wilson, Lewis. *A Historical Study of Religion in Early California, 1846-1852.* 1957.
A study of the beginnings of Protestantism during the Gold Rush, the rise of sectarianism, and the influence of religion on education and legislation. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

## STANFORD UNIVERSITY

15.0 Master's Theses.

15.1 Bailey, Lois. *The Indian Problem in California, 1848-1860.* 1933.
Contents: first Indian contacts with United State officials; effects of gold discovery; federal policy; treaties and their failures; reservation system. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

15.2 Bashor, Eli. *Evidences of Early Political Parties in California, 1848-1850.* 1926.
An account of the constitutional convention; distribution of delegates; appointment of chairmen; alignments on questions of state or territorial form of government, boundaries, and slavery. Sources: documents—government (federal); periodicals; secondary.

15.3 Beales, Benjamin. *The San Jose Mercury and Civil War.* 1942.
A phase of San Jose history, 1861-1865, as reflected by the *Mercury's* coverage of government policies, abolition of slavery, war finance, reconstruction, politics, military events, union and secessionist organizations in California, Pacific Republic proposal, Trent affair, etc. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

15.4 Bigglesteon, William. *Lincoln and the Northern California Press, 1860-1865.* 1951.
The press's attitude toward Lincoln, with emphasis on his elections, abolition of slavery, proclamation of amnesty, Thirteenth Amendment, Appomattox, and death. Sources: documents—government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

15.5 Blomgren, William. *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Foursquare Gospel, 1921-1944.* 1952.
Brief biography of Aimee Semple McPherson and the founding of the sect and the Angeles Temple in Los Angeles; includes a study of the internal

organization of the church. Sources: documents – government (county); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

15.6 Bolton, Thomas. *The Hudson's Bay Company in California.* 1947.
Brief analysis of the activities of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Yerba Buena, 1841-1846, under the leadership of William Rae and Dr. John McLoughlin. Sources: documents – nonpublic (business); newspapers; secondary.

15.7 Britton, Raymond. *The Relation of California and the Federal Government from the Close of the Civil War to March 4, 1867.* 1909.
A description of the working relations between state and federal government on foreign affairs, military affairs, mail routes, land titles, public lands, Indians, aid to railroad and telegraph companies, etc. Sources: documents – government (federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

15.8 Brown, Kenneth. *California Road and Trails, 1825 to 1848; as Revealed by Some Contemporary and Near-contemporary Observers.* 1936.
The old Spanish trails from the Colorado River to the coast, from San San Diego to San Francisco, across the Sierra Nevada Mountains, along the Central Valley, up the northern coast, and the Oregon Road; a record of their travel conditions, their locations, their former uses, their development and use by certain personages. Sources: documents – government (federal); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

15.9 Chaplin, Hayward. *The History of Gold Mining in California (1850-60).* 1946.
Traces the growth of small claims to the large companies and the development of mechanized processes of mining; includes information of life in the mines, and effect of the mines on the economic growth of the state. Sources: documents – government (state), nonpublic (organization); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

15.10 Crawford, Lynn. *Interests of Californians, 1850-1855. Showing in Particular the Attitude of Californians Toward the National Government.* 1925.
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A study of the activities which lead to a strengthening of a party faction to throw off the grip of the railroad machine on the state party organization. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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A study of the growth and development of transportation on San Francisco transbay, Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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An investigation of political philosophy and activities of local and state party organizations as related to major current events, prominent personalities, and National Republican Party. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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The organization, rise and decline of the political power and activity of the party which sought to improve working conditions for workingmen. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; secondary.

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A study of legislative activities of the party while it controlled the legislature and governorship. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); newspapers; secondary; other.

15.24 Kingsbury, Susan. *The Municipal History of San Francisco to 1879.* 1899.
Traces the development of city government and city activities. Sources: documents—government (city); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

15.25 Knies, Donald. *Labor Conflict on the San Francisco Waterfront, 1934-1948.* 1952.
A study of the pattern of labor relations and struggle for power with the maritime industry. Sources: documents—government (federal), non-public (business); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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An account of the difficulties of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League in choosing a candidate (notably getting Johnson to accept), and the campaign and election of Johnson. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

15.27 McCanse, Mabel. *The People's Party of California, 1892-1894.* 1925.
The political history of the party better known as the Populist party in

California. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary.

15.28 McManis, John. *California School Lands.* 1902.
Traces the history of the lands granted to California for educational purposes, with emphasis upon legislation for the disposition of these lands. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); secondary.

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A study of the evolution of the movement, the ward club organization, the attitude of officials, the leadership of Kearney, the party, and public opinion. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; secondary.

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A study to determine opinion toward: slavery; election of 1856; Kansas question; Manifest Destiny and United States expansion into Mexico, Central America, Cuba; Great Britain; Japan and China. Sources: documents—government (foreign, federal, state); newspapers; secondary.

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Narrative of the founding and organization of the California Independent Progressive Party, and of the state party activities in the 1948 national

election. Sources: documents – government (state), nongovernment (business, organization); manuscripts; newspapers; secondary; other.

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The daily record of the trip with notes by the editor in verifying the account. Sources: documents – government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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The letters are a commentary on the voyage through the Isthmus of Panama and on digging in the gold fields. Sources: manuscripts; periodicals; secondary; other.

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A study of the failure of the movement, included are chapters on an analysis of the present (1951) constitution, the California Constitution Commission of 1929-1930, the election of 1934 and the legislature of 1935, and the legislative constitutional revision of 1947. Sources: documents – government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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Downey's political aspirations, campaign and election, succession to governorship, and a survey of legislative activities with emphasis on: settlement of Indian hostilities, land claims, and uprisings at Round Valley and on the Mendocino Coast; politics of the Bulkhead, Wagon Road and Venue bills; Civil War and problems of secession, Pacific Republic; etc. Sources: documents – government (state), nonpublic (association); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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A social, economic, and political history of the city. Sources: manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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A study of the legislative session and the forces that played a part in the passage of legislation to make changes in the administration of California streets and highways. Sources: documents—government (state); newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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Contents: provision for facilities; establishment of schools; evaluation of system; aims; development of high school program, of female education, of industrial schools, of adult education, of Negro education, of the state university. Sources: documents—government (federal, state, city); newspapers; secondary; other.

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An analysis of origins, motives, and ages of emigrants; organization, equipment, and supplies of parties; descriptions of the Bartleson and Workman-Rowland parties; emigrant routes; attitude of the Mexican government toward emigrants; etc. Sources: documents—government (federal); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

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A study of the spread of the news of the discovery and its effect upon the English people. Sources: newspapers; secondary; other.

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An investigation into the political, social, and ideological aspects of the movement. Sources: documents—government (state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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15.508 Moorhead, Dudley. *Sectionalism and the California Constitution of 1879.* 1941.
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An analysis of the factors which characterized the period and which gave rise to the clubs as a force which ousted the Southern Pacific Railroad from politics. Sources: documents—government (federal, state); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary; other.

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The rôle played by the express and stage-coach companies (i.e., Adams and Company; Wells Fargo and Company; California Stage Company) in creating greater social, economic, and political ties between California and the eastern part of the United States. Sources: documents—government (federal, state), nonpublic (business); manuscripts; newspapers; periodicals; secondary.

# NEW BOOKS

*The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton, 1836-1839.* Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (San Francisco, The California Historical Society, 1964. 246 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M.

But for the generosity of Mr. Edward E. Eyre and Mr. Dean Atherton Eyre, grandsons of Faxon Dean Atherton, the diary of their grandfather together with supporting documentation, would have remained a private family treasure. The interest of the California Historical Society and the enthusiastic appraisal of the diary's inherent worth by Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., gave the added sparks needed to bring about its publication. With the release of this valuable material the history of Mexican California is enhanced.

The father-in-law of the future novelist, Gertrude Atherton, was one of those enterprising Yankees who saw the business possibilities in hides and tallow in the far-off golden land along the Pacific. He, with fellow traders and businessmen, injected into the somnulent and chaotic territory some of the brisk industry so characteristic of the Anglo-American Atlantic seaboard. Atherton's actual stay in California lasted from April 21, 1836, until October 26, 1938, the final chapters of his diary dealing with the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, Boston, and Chile. While in California, he was in the employ of Alpheus B. Thompson.

Atherton visited California twice more before settling down in his estate in present San Mateo County in 1859, and there he lived until his death in 1877, living the life of a country squire, looking after his business interests, taking part in civic affairs, and ending his strenuous early years in comfortable and cultural surroundings.

Our Massachusetts trader was a contemporary of Richard Henry Dana, Alfred Robinson, and William Heath Davis, all of whom left to posterity their memoirs of a period that has deeply burned itself into California consciousness. Atherton now joins this group beginning his story about where Dana left off. As one might suppose, the diary is written within the framework of his business dealings and the arrival and sailings of ships, the latter of which he records with great detail and exact minutiae. He traveled the length of coastal California by ship and by land a number of times, saw most of the missions, many of the ranches and the original pueblos. He was personally acquainted with a host of foreigners then in the territory and with the high and low of Hispanic extraction, the padres and governors, Larkin, Vallejo, Kostromitinoff, and the Indian chief, Solano. He expressed the hope that California would soon be acquired by the United States "by purchase or otherwise," and signed with Alvarado the declaration of California's independence from Mexico until the federal system of government would be restored.

Atherton's diary reveals that he was not too happy in California because of its primitive conditions, the cultural level of its people, and its chaotic government. It was his view that virtually the territory had no government. The people of the towns he considered a rascally lot, nor did the distaff side of the land appeal to him as it did to many others. He saw the territory when it was beginning to decay with the secularization of the missions. He said the administrators were their ruin though he exculpated some. He often stressed what was unsavory and disappointing, was realistic rather than romantic in his reactions, and called the play as he saw it. On a number of occasions he shows a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Catholic practices. His style is below the literary qualities of either Dana or Robinson. When everything is considered, however, Atherton does add greatly to the day by day scene as he encountered it and balances the more optimistic viewpoints of other visitors to the territory, even of his own class.

In editing this manuscript which Bancroft did not see Dr. Nunis has done valuable service for the history of the period. In the introduction he gives a rounded-out biography of Atherton, offers the reader a rich collection of notes from published and unpublished material, an extensive bibliography, and an adequate index.

That a few minor slips with regard to mission dates and facts would creep into these valuable notes was perhaps inevitable. They are pointed out here not in criticism but in the spirit of usefulness to readers who may wish to use them. Thus note 25, page 163, states that Mission San José was founded on June 11, 1796. The correct year is 1797. Mission San Francisco was not founded by Lasuén on September 8, 1797, but during the administration of Serra, October 9, 1776 (note 28, p. 163). Nor was Mission San Luis Obispo founded September 1, 1769, but on September 1, 1772 (note 18, p. 167). Duflot de Mofras was quoted as the source. He, however, is not always reliable with regard to dates or figures. Serra, Palóu, Bancroft, and Engelhardt all agree on the year 1772. Finally, Mission San Luis Rey was not founded on September 8, 1797 (note 25, p. 199), but on June 15, 1798. The wrongly quoted date is that of the founding of Mission San Fernando Rey.

In note 10, page 166, Nunis quoting Engelhardt, *Mission Santa Barbara,* pages 382-383, states that Antonio Jimeno served that mission from 1829 until 1840. Actually he served it until the end of 1858 as Engelhardt distinctly says on page 383, and which is corroborated by the extant mission registers. Again quoting Duflot de Mofras, note 33, page 169, the editor gives the number of cattle at Mission San Gabriel in 1834 as 105,000 head. According to the extant original records for that mission the number of cattle never exceeded 26,300 which was in 1828 and which decreased subsequently.

The Atherton Diary so painstakingly prepared and richly annotated now takes its place among the memorabilia of Mexican California and will have to be consulted by future historians as a reliable eyewitness account of men and events in the territory that was about to enter a period of dissolution and which was beckoning for adoption by the great eastern power that believed in "Manifest Destiny."

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MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., a recipient of the John Gilmary Shea Award of the Catholic Historical Association and of the Harry R. Wagner Award of the California Historical Society, is an outstanding authority on the Franciscan Missions in California. After translating and editing *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra,* he authored the *Life and Times of Junípero Serra* and the *Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara.*

*Doomed Road of Empire: The Spanish Trail of Conquest.* By Hodding Carter, with Betty W. Carter. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1963. 408 pp. $8.95.) Reviewed by Michael Mathes.

*The Doomed Road of Empire* is published as volume six of McGraw-Hill's American Trails Series and, as are the other volumes in this series, it is well designed and printed. There is a good map of the "trail" considered, and the introductory chapter places the "trail" in its natural setting.

This "trail," the Spanish road from Saltillo, Coahuila, to Nacogdoches, Texas, is considered by the authors to be the most significant Spanish overland route in the shaping of North America. While this statement can be questioned, there is no doubt that this road of Spanish entry into Texas and the Mississippi Valley was of great importance.

The Saltillo-Nacogdoches road has been employed by the Carters as the central thread for weaving a history of Texas during the Spanish and Mexican periods. Beginning with Cabeza de Vaca in 1529 and the discovery of silver in the north of Mexico in the mid-sixteenth century, the story of Spanish northward advance into Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Texas is unfolded.

Skipping over much of the early seventeenth century, the authors continue their work by discussing the French intrusion of La Salle and his ill-fated expedition, and then return to Spanish activity prior to La Salle's arrival in 1684. Spain's development of a mission frontier subsequent to the legendary apparition of Sor María de Agreda and the arrival of Fathers Massanet, Hidalgo, and Margil with their military escort was initially quite rapid, and temporarily protected Texas from French advances.

Nevertheless, the Franciscan hopes for further mission establishments allowed France to return through illicit trade under the direction of Saint Denis and the collusion of the Spaniards. That this second French entry caused the formation of a mission frontier during the early eighteenth century in Texas is shown by the Carters, as is the growth of presidios in Texas.

The establishment of presidios came none too soon, for during the War of Spanish Succession in 1719, they enabled Spain to hold the boundary against France. French intrusion, however, diminished and was replaced by a yet greater threat to Spanish occupation of Texas, Indian hostility.

A narrative of Apache and Comanche raids and successes throughout the mid-eighteenth century continues the Carters' work. So successful were these Indian depredations that Spain was forced to abandon her northernmost missions and suffer again a decline in her attempts to settle Texas.

While Spain eventually succeeded, through the aid of Athanase de Méziéres, in overcoming Indian depredations through alliances, she was never again able to recover control of Texas with security. The final years of the eighteenth century brought yet another menace in the form of Anglo-American intrusions. Phillip Nolan, James Wilkinson, and Aaron Burr all threatened Spanish Texas, but none so great as Miguel Hidalgo and the independence movement in Mexico.

The Carters narrate the independence-filibustering activity of Kemper and Gutíerrez de Lara and the founding of the first Texas Republic of 1812, as well as the influx of Anglo-American colonists during the last years of Spanish Texas and the first years of Mexican control over the area. Because of these foreign intrusions, Mexican Texas fared no better than when under Spanish rule, and pressure of colonists commencing with the Fredonian Revolt, along with internal unrest in central Mexico, brought a fear of loss of the area by Mexico.

This fear of loss of territory through Anglo-American revolt was well founded, and, despite initial success, Mexico was unable to put down the rebellious Texans. The story of the United States' war with Mexico and the annexation of Texas then follows, terminating the story of the "trail" with its bisection by an international border.

As an epilogue to their work, the Carters discuss the recent making of the road as an historical landmark, and give the modern route for use by the present day traveller. There is also an excellent bibliography of the history of Hispanic Texas comprising both scholarly and popular books, periodicals, theses and dissertations, published documents, and pamphlets.

Unfortunately, *The Doomed Road of Empire* tells no new story nor critically approaches any old one. It is journalistic in style and popular in presentation; there is an absence of footnotes and critical care given more scholarly works.

Nevertheless, this book should appeal to the general reader, for it is pleasant reading and an engrossing story.

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*The Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific Railroads.* By Lucius Beebe. (Berkeley, Howell-North—Books, 1963. 640 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by David F. Myrick.

The Central Pacific and its successor, the present Southern Pacific, can be described in many ways. It is one of the longest railroads in the United States, it serves an area which invokes a wide range of descriptive adjectives. It was the most profitable railroad in 1963, but its wealth, as measured in its contribution to the history of the West, is limitless.

The construction of the first transcontinental railroad was a landmark in engineering achievement, and with the joining of the rails at Promontory, Utah, in 1869, California and Nevada were linked with the nation and travel was measured in days instead of weeks or months.

The western end of this line was the Central Pacific, promoted by Sacramento men, appropriately known as the "Big Four." With the C.P.R.R. done, these men set out to successfully conquer the title of building the *second* transcontinental railroad by pushing their Southern Pacific across Arizona into Texas to New Orleans. Another arm went northward into Oregon and, by late 1887, the framework was essentially complete.

Such an undertaking was not easy. Its creation was one problem; its operation was a never ending series of challenges continuing to this day. Yet, this enterprise grew, and with it, the Far West. The history of one is inseparable from the other. Although it has been the subject of many books starting with Sabin in 1919, the story of the C. P. & S. P. is so large that it has never been told in definitive form. Perhaps it never will.

"Definitive" is an overworked term, but from a pictorial standpoint, Mr. Beebe's gigantic work soundly qualifies. A master craftsman of prose and unearthing, selecting and captioning pictures, he has gathered some nine hundred prints and photos for this six-hundred-page book. Not only did he have full access to the Southern Pacific collection, he augmented it with pictures garnered from historical societies and renowned photographers such as Stan Kissler, Richard Steinheimer, Donald Duke, and Roy Graves. Craftsmanship continued in the reproduction of the photos on the coated-paper page.

A valuable reference source is to be found in the dozen pages given over to a biography of the famous-name trains of Southern Pacific, the changes meticulously noted by Robert Hancocks. With the author's own photos and interpretations the work is a notable chronicle of an essential segment of Western history.

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*The History of Methodism in Southern California and Arizona.* By Edward Drewry Jervey. (Nashville, Parthenon Press, 1960. 247 pp. $2.50.) Reviewed by J. Wesley Robb.

This volume significantly demonstrates the thesis that religion is integral to the life and development of any region and recounts the role Methodism played in the growing metropolises of Southern California. The author is sensitive to the outreach of the Church in all of its dimensions—educational, social, evangelistic, and the like—and relates this story to the larger social and cultural context of the southwest.

Since the merger of the Methodist Church, North and South, did not occur until 1939, one section of the book is devoted to the story of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1870-1939. The remainder of the volume is concerned with the history and development of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1876-1939, and the United Conference, 1939-1960.

The author's sympathy for the Methodist cause shines through his writings but does not deter him from making a number of critical observations. The book is well documented and fulfills the purpose stated on the jacket cover: "... it is important for church people everywhere to know the history of their denomination within the area in which they live."

However, of larger concern is the fact that this small volume will be useful to historians interested particularly in California history. The author's research was done as a part of his dissertation at Boston University in 1960. The author is presently associate professor of history and chairman of the department of history, Lambuth College, Jackson, Tennessee.

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J. Wesley Robb is both an ordained Methodist minister and an educator. Dr. Robb is a professor of religion and an associate dean at the University of Southern California.

*Redwoods, Iron Horses, and the Pacific: The Story of the California Western "Skunk" Railroad.* By Spencer Crump. (Los Angeles, Trans-Anglo Books, 1963. 160 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Leo P. Kibbey.

By following the coast line north from San Francisco for approximately 180 miles one may reach Fort Bragg, a city founded in 1885. This particular city was named after a military post established in 1857 in honor of the hero of the Mexican war and later a Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. From Fort Bragg eastward for about 25 miles, as the crow flies, is located the city of Willits. Between these two places, Fort Bragg and Willits, covering not a straight line but a turning, twisting route that reaches a maximum elevation of 1740 feet and for a distance of forty miles, the California Western "Skunk" Railroad extends. This is the setting for *Redwoods, Iron Horses and the Pacific.*

In a variety of ways this railroad has possessed uniqueness throughout its entire history: it stretches through the Redwoods with scenic beauty along the entire route; since it opened in 1909 it has carried thousands of people – some to their work or business, and others for pleasure who were enjoying vacation – and each year it continues to carry thousands more; not only has the railroad used the steam engines for power as other railroads throughout the United States have done, but it has developed for use with great effectiveness the rail buses with their gasoline motors; lastly, in its entire history extending over half a century, this remarkable railroad has operated at a financial loss in only seven of the total number of years it has existed.

These are many of the unusual items described in the publication that have enabled author Crump to bring to his readers the thrilling, colorful, and engaging story of the "Skunk." He has also succeeded in combining descriptive narrative with about 150 photographs of people, scenery, logging activities, construction projects, locomotives, and other characteristics of the California Western Railroad.

And there are other commendable and interesting aspects of this book: depicted are people like Wharton Taylor, Fred Hanson, and John Pimentel who contributed immeasurably to the success of this railroad venture; exceptionally fine photographs taken from the James Gayner, Bill Pennington, California Historical Society, Union Lumber Company, Southern Pacific Historical Association, Hugh Tolford, and other official collections, are used extensively and provide appropriate historical perspective not set forth in the narrative. Included also are many reprints, maps, photographs of railroad passes and tickets, time schedules, and the like, all of which provide interest and enlightenment to the reader. Finally, an elaborate appendix, pp. 123-60, shows the evolution of the engine types used on this railroad all the way from No. 1 steam engine *Sequoia,* to Rail Motor Skunk M-300. Of added interest was the inclusion of the manufacturer's detailed drawings showing the numerous "Skunk" motor car plans.

To the reviewer the book has appeal not only because of the quality of its mechanical arrangement but because the author has succeeded in bringing together and preserving a quaint and interesting history of a most unusual railroad. At times the narrative suffers however, as it does on p. 90, when tiresome reference is made to the sale of locomotives; or on pp. 75-76 where statistical data are repeated without apparent justification; or on p. 109 where the hobby of miniature railroad modeling is described and praised incongruously as a "means of reducing the tensions of daily life." But these features may well be overlooked in the total evaluation by those who are able either to identify themselves in some direct way with this special subject, or whose interests lie within the framework of events possessing a local historical flavor.

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*The Politics of Water in Arizona.* By Dean E. Mann. (The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1964. 317 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Herbert M. Eder.

The arrival in Tucson of a retired couple from the East to their new "home in the sun," the opening of a housing tract in the suburbs of Yuma, and the announcement of a large government contract for a Phoenix firm have become everyday indicators of the economic "boom" in Arizona. This growth is being lubricated by an insufficient quantity of water of increasingly unsatisfactory quality! Consequently, Dean Mann's book is timely, and its central theme, the role of legal, political, and scientific institutions in the utilization of water in Arizona, is appropriate. It is appropriate, moreover, for the greater region of California and the Southwest, where exist similar problems concerning man's use and misuse of his lifeblood—water. (On this subject see, e.g., S. T. Harding's *Water in California,* and N. Wollman, ed., *The Value of Water in Alternative Uses.)*

Following an introductory chapter on the physical setting of Arizona, which is an overview of the land forms and the ecosystem of precipitation, runoff, ground water, plants, and soils, the book can be divided into three parts. In the first part, Chapters II to VII, the author presents the legal and political aspects of water planning, surface water, ground water, the politics of water, the Colorado River, and public power. These chapters are exciting reconstructions of the conservation movement, the establishment and solidification of water law, the factions and friction of interests and agencies, and the controversies surrounding the Colorado River and public power production in Arizona.

Chapter VI is an excellent summary of the legal battle between California and Arizona over Colorado River water. The historical approach is used with scholarly finesse, and the reader gains an understanding only possible by looking backwards.

In the second part of the book, Chapters VIII to XII, the author focuses in a more contemporary vein on the bureaucratic management of water and land resources, soil and water conservation, and recreation and wildlife conservation. He pulls together skillfully the threads of a spider web of agencies and vested interests to weave a pattern in which the federal government appears largely responsible for resource management, overshadowing the state and private ownership. Throughout, Mann presents a deep-throated plea for ecological planning based on scientific knowledge of water and related resources with none of the "bible thumping" of the traditional conservationist.

In the third portion, Chapters XIII to XVI, the theme is basic research presently being pursued by the University of Arizona, the U. S. Geological Survey, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture. The lack of scientific knowledge concerning the processes of the climate and the plant-soil-water relationship is revealed, and some of the work afoot is underscored. In Arizona there is an impressive array of scientists asking intelligent questions concerning the ecological setting and the human utilization of arid lands, perhaps more than can be found at any other place on the globe with the exception of Israel. The results of these researches will be of significance to planners where similar problems of resource inventory and man's continuing or future use of arid lands are present (i.e., Northern Mexico, Central Western South America, North and Southwest Africa, the Middle East, Central Asia, and Australia).

In conclusion, the author poses the rhetorical question, "How well is Arizona playing its 'pore hand' of water?" Answering himself, Mann recognizes the "mining" of this biological necessity, the absence of ecological "morality" concerning this critical resource, and the blind willingness to entrust responsibility to the federal and state agencies. Reading between the lines, such as "economic development dependent on the utilization of water resources and the ecological factors surrounding these resources goes on in an essentially haphazard fashion," one cannot become as enthused as the stockbrokers over Arizona's prospects. Yet this future, in the opinion of the reviewer, could be substantially brightened if Arizonans would abandon the supreme egotism of twentieth century Americans which centers on the great God, Science, and its technological priests, the engineers.

*The Politics of Water in Arizona* is a handsome job of bookmaking. Maps and illustrations, interspersed throughout, are abundant and legible. However, maps of precipitation, geology and water-holding capacity of soils, and distribution of population, are conspicuously absent. Each of the seventeen chapters is well written and thoroughly documented. The copious notes reflect the more than twenty pages of bibliography collected from government sources, professional and popular journals, and newspaper files. There is a fine index.

The book stimulated the reviewer to ask some unanswered, and perhaps unanswerable, questions. For instance, what is the best use of a limited resource? Or, what is the place of the scientist in resource planning and management? And, in the final analysis, does the resource base determine the ultimate limits of human occupancy and use of the arid lands? Dean Mann's *The Politics of Water in Arizona* ranks along with Richard Cooley's prize winning *Politics and Conservation: The Decline of the Alaska Salmon* as an outstanding contribution of a political scientist to the field of conservation and resource utilization.

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*Desert Bonanza: The Story of Early Randsburg, Mojave Desert Mining Camp.* By Marcia Rittenhouse Wynn. (Glendale, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1963. 275 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by William H. Wake.

*Desert Bonanza* is a revised and enlarged edition of the 1949 account of the antecedents, birth, maturation, senesence, and multiple rejuvenation of a town and its surrounding area. Even more, it is the account of the people who made and were made (and broken) by that area.

To the casual motorist speeding by the center of the story, Randsburg, its sister, Johannesburg, and the adjacent desert are thoroughly drab uninteresting places that look as if they are dead but either do not realize it or are too stubborn to admit it. In reality they are only drab, uninteresting, and dead to the eye that is glued to the road as it rushes past at twenty miles an hour in excess of the legal limit. Even a brief look—with desire to see—reveals the sweeping beauties of the panorama, and the town is readily brought to life by a pause to investigate the Desert Museum in Randsburg and talk with the curator or other townspeople.

Marcia Wynn's excellent book will do the same and more because it combines the insights of a long-time perceptive observer, numerous interviews with "old timers," and considerable research to discover and verify details. These elements have been blended with a deeply rooted love of the region, a fine sense of humor, and masterful writing.

Currently working out of the doldrums after three major booms and declines (gold, tungsten, and silver) and a uranium flurry after World War II that failed to prove up, Randsburg is proving Marcia Wynn's opening thought even more accurate than she seems to have realized when she wrote it. On page 3 she says that, "Having successfully weathered the lean years between her bonanza strikes, she [Randsburg] has resolutely declined to join those other desert camps that once corruscated briefly with their various excitements, then passed into obscurity and ghosthood." The reasons briefly discussed in closing the story (pp. 252-253) are the housing needs of workers at the Searles Lake borax operations and the China Lake Naval Base, plus the dogged persistence of a few who are still certain that the ore for at least one more big strike is still to be found. In the last few years two more trends have developed that are overlooked in the book.

The peace and quiet of the towns in the area have attracted retired and semi-retired smog-choked Angeleños and the overflow of "week-enders" from Los Angeles has brought others to the area. Together these developments have created a mild land boom and "just about all the old houses worth fixing up have been bought up and several new ones built" (personal communication from another "old timer" during a class field trip). If the trend continues as it seems likely to do, Randsburg will again be faced with severe water problems as forecast on page 253. If it can solve them, it seems assured of an indefinite rejuvenation though probably not as bright and colorful a life as the mining booms provided unless exploitive commercial recreation interests move in.

Actually, Randsburg was never as wild or as ornate as many earlier towns, nor as (in)famous. Johannesburg was even more antithetical to the general concept of a mining camp having sprung Minervalike into existence as "more of a family town than a miners' camp.... [It] came into existence as a properly laid-out townsite ... [in December, 1896]." The reasons for Randsburg's relative quietude are not really discussed. Certainly the strikes were rich enough to attract the bars, the "fluzy barns," and the gambling emporia and their habitues that Marcia Wynn discusses quite candidly, and the miners provided many more lively anecdotes for the book. Nevertheless, the town and the region were much calmer during their early boom periods than was usual for mining areas.

Using very readable English, Marcia Wynn skillfully interjects the flavor of the miners' speech to add spice to her lively account and includes a Glossary of Mining Expressions to clarify terms likely to be unfamiliar to the reader. The Preface of the book is devoted to her family's migration to, and rôle in, the Rand District. Part I, Some Early History, provides a graphic description of the area and the events leading to discovery of the Yellow Aster mine, originally called the Rand, in April, 1895. Part II, The Randsburg Era, occupies some four-fifths of the book in recounting the lives and declines of the town and district.

Throughout the story runs the thread of the danger, discomfort, disappointment, and sheer drudgery that marked the endless days and nights of hope for the glorious moment of a bonanza strike, and the perpetually critical—often tragic—pressure of water shortages even in town—or worse, the times that "there wasn't enough liquor left in camp" (p. 73). A poem, "The Desert Rat," sums up the lure of the desert and the big strike, three pages of Notes clarify technical details, nearly three dozen photographs illustrate the story very effectively, and the Index added to this edition facilitates reference use. The maps, however, leave something to be desired because of inaccuracies (those in the Leuba map, p. 30 are noted), and because they do not include a large scale map of the Rand District showing the gulches and other features named. In all, however, this is a valuable addition to the literature of California and of the mining industry as well as a fascinating story of a town, a mining district, and the people that gave them life.

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*Pictorial History of the Physical Development of Mission Santa Barbara from Brush Hut to Institutional Greatness, 1786-1963.* By Maynard Geiger. (Santa Barbara, Franciscan Fathers of California, 1963. 153 illustrations, 182 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by Rosario Andrea Curletti.

The Reverend Maynard Geiger—America's foremost California mission historian—has delved into eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth century documents to write and compile a most forceful volume. Only a scholar of Father Maynard's stature could sift through files crammed with thousands of drawings, paintings, watercolors, sketches, photographs, and pictures of Mission Santa Barbara on canvas, paper, wood, silk, and copper to select unerringly the 153 views most vividly depicting the physical evolution and history of Alta California's tenth frontier mission.

His use of strictly historical criteria in evaluating material adds sparkle to those pictures that are gems: scenes of mission life in early days and in contemporary times that the layman seldom can observe, and women never, because the establishment is an occupied monastery. Particularly gratifying are the bird's-eye views and aerial shots annotated with exemplary skill.

The *Pictorial History* sets Mission Santa Barbara apart as the sole California mission whose architectural story and whose building history have been told fully and eloquently in picture and narration. Based upon solid research in primary sources, written in an easy style, it reads with the speed of fiction.

To present the initial four decades—a period for which there are no known pictures extant—Father Maynard dictated the facts from documents to artist Russell A. Ruiz with telling effect, as can be seen in the four pen and ink drawings printed. Moreover, the work of over thirty photographers, five more artists, and several architects were drawn upon from public and private collections throughout California.

In the introduction, the author notes that topographically the mission faces southeast 51°, but since traditionally it has been described as "facing south," the buildings in the rear as north, the mission church and cemetery as east, and the opposite wing as west, he would—to prevent confusion—resort to that terminology.

And what use he makes of it! He examines the front, the west wing, the north cloister, the cemetery, the church inside and outside, from all points of the compass as if he were turning the edifice about on the palm of his hand. Now you see the alterations made one year, now in another—section by section, piece by piece. He relates, identifies, and integrates the neighboring countryside, dating pictures conclusively from factual data revealed therein. Soon the reader too thrills at recognition as he dates for himself other views. Thus the entire area vibrates with meaningful recognition.

With that scholar as guide, we examine the floor plans for the four successive church buildings and study the outlines of the mission in its zenith—1833. He presents the early twin-towered frontispiece with its westward *azotea* or fanciful parapet first uncovered, now tiled, later enclosed, then roofed with shingles and dotted with dormer windows beginning on the eastern half and finally the length of the monastery.

The mission is never presented as an isolated component of the valley but rather as an integral part of it, for our discalced mentor enriches our journey as he shares with us his wide knowledge of Santa Barbara history. In plate xlvi, for example, the writer remarks "what looks like a race track between the mission and the seminary is the board covering of a city reservoir." He adds, "The land was sold the city for that purpose in 1902."

A 1958 view of mission and seminary (plate lxi) depicts concisely developments from 1786. The accompanying commentary summarizes the Max C. Fleischmann Foundation gift which that year completed the historic plant.

Scarce pictures of northern exposures, of cross sections of the monastery wing from the pen of priest-architect Thaddeus Kreye, O.F.M., of the choir loft with the pipe organ given in 1905 by Andrew Carnegie, of the friars' library with shelves of sheepskin-covered tomes brought there almost two centuries ago – all are made exciting.

Interest in *Pictorial History of Mission Santa Barbara* is intensified by the accolades of both state and federal governments to that mecca of historians and tourism. The state of California has declared Mission Santa Barbara Historic Landmark No. 309, while the United States of America has saluted Mission Santa Barbara as a registered national historic landmark.

With the publication of *Pictorial History of Mission Santa Barbara*, we can look forward to a companion volume now in preparation, *The History of Santa Barbara Mission.* The book will comprise a set comparable to *The Serra Trail in Pictures and Story* and its companion *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra.*

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*Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California, 1823-1826.* Edited and translated by Lowell John Bean and William Marvin Mason. (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962. 117 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Paul M. De Falla.

The far-famed Anza Trail connecting California with Mexico had not been in use for more than five years when, in 1781, the Yuma Indians made passage over it impossible by revolting against Spanish rule on the Colorado and closing the route. The trail then remained unused throughout the remainder of Spanish hegemony in Mexico and California.

But forty years after its closing, beginning with the early 1820's, the newly formed Mexican government began to take an active interest in the reopening of the Anza trail or developing an alternate land route to the north or to the south of Yuma country, as a land connection with California was considered of prime importance by the Mexicans. Thus, in 1823, a hardy ecclesiastic by the name of Félix Caballero made a semiofficial exploratory journey from Mission Santa Catalina in northern Lower California to Tucson and Arizpe by the way of a route to the south of Yuma country. At this point the Mexican government decided that a full dress, official exploration of the route used by Father Caballero was in order, and when the missionary returned to Santa Catalina, he was escorted by Brevet Captain Don José Romero and a contingent of men from the Tucson garrison. Captain Romero was the commandant of the Tucson presidio, and he was to reconnoiter the Caballero land route for the military branch of the Mexican government. This is the first of the three Romero expeditions that authors Bean and Mason tell us about in their handsome little book.

This expedition was not without mishap, because at one point, the Cocopa Indians set Romero and his contingent adrift in flimsy rafts on the Colorado River so that the Mexicans almost drowned. Eventually, however, the Romero expedition made its way to Mission Santa Catalina in northern Lower California, and eventually, the news of this journey reached Mexico City, where the newspapers proclaimed Captain Romero and Father Caballero heroes—a clear indication of how important the issue of a land route with California was to Mexico.

Once in Lower California, Captain Romero traveled north all the way to the capital of California, Monterey, where, together with the governor of California, he planned a second expedition—this time one that would take him north of Yuma country, from west to east, from San Gabriel to Tucson. This expedition was a complete failure, as Romero became lost in the desert before he reached the Colorado River, and had to return to San Gabriel. Thus ended the second Romero expedition, and the third one was not to begin for approximately twenty months.

But the Mexican government was bent on locating a route between Sonora and Upper California, and in 1825 set two expeditions in motion to accomplish this purpose. One of these expeditions, the third Romero foray, was to travel east from San Gabriel to a point on the Colorado River northerly from Yuma country. From this point, it was to travel south along the Colorado to a point where it would meet the other expedition squarely in Yuma territory. This other expedition was under the command of General Don José Figueroa, who with a force of four hundred horses was to travel west from Tucson directly into Yuma territory. The object was to attempt to reopen, by force of arms if necessary, the old Anza trail. Also, the Figueroa expedition was to meet the third Romero expedition on the Colorado, squarely in Yuma territory.

As matters turned out, the eastbound Romero expedition and the westbound Figueroa army reached the Colorado at approximately the same time, with Figueroa alleging that there he was met by a Yuma army totaling four thousand warriors. Figueroa himself had only four hundred men, but well armed. Each side was thoroughly impressed by the other side, and this mutual show of military sinew caused peace to break out between the Mexicans and the Yumas. Anyway, the Yumas were at this time literally surrounded by other Indian enemies, with whom the Mexicans seemed altogether too friendly. The old, cobwebby, rusty, but highly usable Anza trail was once more open for travel.

The efforts of the Mexicans to re-establish a land connection between Sonora and California, and the success which eventually crowned their endeavors, have heretofore remained virtually unknown until Messrs. Bean and Mason did their *Romero Expeditions.* Thus these authors have made a valuable contribution to the general history of California and of Southern California in particular.

Unfortunately, the *Romero Expeditions* suffers from a lack of organization and slapdash construction. It is often necessary to begin an expedition of one's own to find out just where the narrative has taken you at any given point. Are we now in Romero's first expedition or in Caballero's eastward journey? Which way are we now traveling, east or west? During the second or third expedition? And how did General Figueroa come into all this? By the way, where is Romero now? Did he really make it through the third time? Well—all the information is in the book, somewhere. Perhaps in the Notes? The dust jacket? The Preface—or in the body of the work? Well, yes. It is there. In all of them. Somewhere. All you have to do is find it.

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*Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54.* Edited by Robert W. Frazer. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 254 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by Harwood P. Hinton.

In the decade preceding the Civil War, the United States Army played a vital rôle in opening newly acquired dominions west of the Missouri to settlement. In the sprawling Mexican Cession and in the Oregon Country, soldiers built posts, constructed roads, surveyed railroad and wagon routes, carried the mail, and policed Indian reservations. Rarely indeed were they called upon to demonstrate their abilities in the art of war. To concentrate energies and obtain information for policy decisions, the army periodically dispatched inspectors to tour frontier outposts. One of the officers repeatedly sent west during this period was Colonel Joseph F. K. Mansfield, an expert on coastal fortifications, who from 1853 to 1861 made regular visits to the military departments in the Southwest and Far West. Two of his reports, that of 1853 on the Department of New Mexico and the more extensive one of 1854 on the Department of the Pacific, have been ably edited by Robert W. Frazer, chairman of the department of history at the University of Wichita, and appear as the principal contents of *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts.*

Mansfield's reports followed a set pattern. In each department he surveyed the general economic and social conditions, described the garrisons, and made recommendations. His 1853 inspection of the Department of New Mexico took him to ten posts; the following year, he visited the eighteen posts in the Department of the Pacific—a jurisdiction that stretched from the Mexican border north to Puget Sound. His criticisms were sharp and direct: commands pitifully undermanned, insufficient clothing and pay, nearsighted and left-handed soldiers—in those days recruiters turned the left-handed away—and poorly drilled dragoon companies, whose horses suffered from neglect. Mansfield's recommendations centered on the need for additional military roads within each department and additional posts on the emigrant routes west, especially on the trail from Texas through the Gadsden strip to California—recommendations which, incidently, were implemented by the War Department in the ensuing years.

Editor Frazer has exercised a great deal of skill in preparing these documents for publication. In a thoughtful introductory essay, he discusses the beginnings of the departments, the inspection reports that preceded Mansfield's and the general policy changes down to 1861. The annotations are excellent, although one wishes that certain individuals (for example, Joel L. Ankrim) could have been identified more fully. Valuable also is the separate list (and brief service record) of the officers mentioned in the reports. It is interesting to note that of the 201 men on duty, 170 were West Pointers, but only 42 of the total later cast their lot with the Confederacy. Tabular statements of the strength, arms, and equipment at each post are also appended.

The inclusion of twenty-nine of Mansfield's original sketch maps of the posts and adjacent areas he visited, a bibliography, and an index add much to the value of the book. A picture of Mansfield would have enhanced the volume still further. Both the military historian and the collector of Western Americana will find this work valuable and informative.

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*Bernal Díaz, Historian of the Conquest.* By Herbert Cerwin. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 239 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by Fintan Warren, o.f.m.

The *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España,* by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, has captured the imagination of students of the conquest since the time of its first printing in 1632. This direct narration, told with a sense of historical importance by one who knew himself to be the only eyewitness left to tell it, has a charm which belongs to the storyteller and which often escapes the historian.

The present work, by Herbert Cerwin, studies the author of the *Historia* from his birth in Medina del Campo, Spain, in 1496 to his death in Antigua, Guatemala, in 1584. It tells of his coming to the New World with the expedition of Pedrarias Dávila to Darién in 1514. He quickly moved on to Cuba where he joined successively in the expeditions of Francisco de Córdoba, Juan de Grijalva, and Hernando Cortés. He was granted several towns in southern Mexico as *encomiendas* but later lost them. In 1524 he marched with Cortés on the deadly trail to Honduras. Twice, in 1539 and 1549 or 1550, he traveled to Spain to defend his rights and to ask for favors. After 1541 he made his residence in Guatemala until his death. There he was granted some *encomienda* towns and became a leading member of the town council. But, most important for later ages, he became indignant over the neglect of the rôle of the common soldier in the published histories of the conquest and determined to write his own version. He started this work in the early 1550's but did not labor at it steadily until 1564. By 1568 he had completed the first draft, although he continued to revise it even after he had sent one copy of it to Spain in 1576. The manuscript with the author's corrections is still to be found in the Archivo del Gobierno de Guatemala.

Cerwin's work is best in its study of Díaz' later years. It is surprisingly brief in its treatment of the expeditions to Mexico in which Díaz participated, merely mentioning those of Córdoba and Grijalva and referring the reader to other sources for the history of the conquest under Cortés. In this respect, then, the book must be considered as an appreciation of Díaz rather than a full biography. But the author's treatment of Díaz' later life draws upon his personal knowledge of Guatemala and its archives as well as upon the fruit of other modern research on the life of the conquistador-author. Although one may disagree with him on some points, such as his interpretation of the *encomienda* ("neither Bernal Díaz nor any of his companions ever considered the Indians anything but slaves." p. 70), his presentation is generally lively and readable, as he tries to recapture scenes from Guatemalan life of the sixteenth century and to show the old conqueror moving among them, enjoying his past achievements more with each telling.

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*California: The New Society.* By Remi Nadeau. (New York, David McKay Company, inc., 1963. 296 pp. $5.50.) Reviewed by Andrew F. Rolle.

Presentation of the story of a state as vast as California may take many forms. Most often, however, it is the historical approach that is utilized by nonfiction writers. This book, neither history nor literature, sets its own tone – one that is contemporary. The volume would appeal to the daily book editor of a large metropolitan newspaper whose reviews cater primarily to nonspecialists. It is bursting with miscellaneous details: Nadeau tells us that Californians are individualistic and tolerant, that the state has a larger population than Canada, and that it houses more people than ninety foreign countries. While such reminders are undoubtedly useful, much of the book's content is already public knowledge. Furthermore, it provides no centralizing thesis around which one might build a new interpretation of the state's progress. And, much of its content concerns national rather than purely California contemporary history. In short, the book does not really fulfill the promise of its ambitious title, but it may stimulate further interest by new readers anxious to find "the real California."

The unadorned "facts" about California sometimes prove more exciting than the myths most frequently voiced about the state. But it takes a rigorous dedication and discipline to dig these "facts" out. To breathe verifiable life into the story of any region usually remains the unfinished historical assignment of each generation. We are so close to the history of our times that its themes are apt to elude us. Balance, cosmopolitanism, and inclusiveness would seem to be the desiderata of books that boldly purport to examine the mood and style of a state that resembles an empire. To some degree, Nadeau's probing into "the new California" has these qualities. He is urbane, sophisticated, and knowledgeable.

The depth of his interpretation and of his learning is, however, harder to assess. With not so much as a selective bibliography in sight, one's confidence in the scholarship behind this book is understandably diminished. Perusal of its sparse notes indicates that the book's sources are often based upon the public press, which tends to give Nadeau's book a perishable journalistic cast.

Readers accustomed to the author's earlier books, particularly *The Water Seekers* (1950), will find his analysis here less strongly rooted—indeed thinly based upon opinion, and even rumor, more than upon verifiable fact. Yet, in fairness to Nadeau, one should note that he courageously examines matters that historians seldom touch. These include attention to the intricacies of urbanization, water development, smog control, good and bad government, and racial tensions. Such other subtleties as the reasons for the rivalry between San Francisco and Los Angeles, the fateful implications of California's demographic growth, and numerous indefinable characteristics of what one might call the California mass *psyche* are also treated. For these efforts this reviewer is full of applause. This book makes a good start in handling concepts about which more needs to be written.

While Nadeau's judgments do not seem quite so shrewd or liberal, his volume reminds one of Carey McWilliams's earlier writings—which were frequently perceptive and publicly useful, despite their tendency to emphasize the sensational and the transitory. In short, this reviewer sees Nadeau's latest writing as closer to McWilliams's than to that of any other California author, lest it be a Herb Caen or a Ray Bradbury—who sometimes touch tangentially upon similar materials. As popularizers, their insights into the complicated suburbia which is being built around us are modern and sometimes close to that society whose strengths and shortcomings they seek to explain. Blessed by an anecdotal writing talent that transcends the objectivity demanded by academia, their work has greater public appeal than that of the professional scholar. While one may praise aspects of such writing, readers should be reminded of its limitations, which are really the limitations of present-mindedness versus testable historical-mindedness.

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ANDREW ROLLE, professor of history at Occidental College, is the author of numerous books and articles on California and Western American history. His latest work, *California: A History* has been enthusiastically adopted as a text by numerous colleges and universities.

*The Cruise of the Portsmouth: A Sailor's View of the Naval Conquest of California, 1845-1848.* By Joseph T. Downey. Edited by Howard R. Lamar. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963. 246 pp. Paper, $1.75.) Reviewed by John Hawgood.

The naval conquest of California had many times been viewed from the wardroom. Beginning with Padre Colton's justly famed *Three Years in California,* published as early as 1850, and Lieutenant Frederick Walpole's *Four Years in the Pacific* even earlier, in 1849, a number of accounts of these events by naval officers who participated in, or observed, them have appeared in print. What was lacking was a view from "before the mast" or between-decks of the events of the 1840's on (and off) the Pacific Coast of North America such as Dana had provided, though from the merchant seaman's point of view, for the 1830's. This gap was made much smaller through the publication by the Yale University Press in 1959 of the manuscript "Odds and Ends of Incidents of a Cruise in the Pacific in the U. S. Ship Portsmouth from Jan. 1845 to May 1848. By Fore Peak." This book is a paperbound reprint of the hard-cover edition of 1949. "Fore Peak" has been positively identified as Downey, yeoman and keeper of the log on the newly commissioned sloop of war *Portsmouth,* which played such an important part in the naval occupation of Alta California and was only slightly less famous in those waters than the U. S. *United States* which had carried Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones into Monterey Bay in 1842 and one Herman Melville (as an ordinary seaman) back from Honolulu to Boston to set up as an author in 1843. Downey's account does not have the literary grace of Melville's *White Jacket,* but it is rightly claimed by its publishers to be "an essential source for the history of California and of the U. S. Navy." It is edited with characteristic skill and grace by Howard Lamar.

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JOHN HAWGOOD, a Western American specialist, is professor of American history at the University of Birmingham in England.

*Vasco de Quiroga and His Pueblo-Hospitals of Santa Fé.* By Fintan B. Warren, O.F.M. (Washington, Academy of American Franciscan History, 1963. 133 pp. $6.00.) Reviewed by Charles W. Arnade.

First of all, let me state in the words of the author of this book that the word "hospital" is here defined in the broader historical meaning which comes from the word "hospitality" and means "a charitable institution for the refuge, maintenance, or education of needy, aged, infirm, or young persons." Let me also mention that this reviewer is no expert on the subject matter discussed in this book. This frequently has the advantage that the reviewer cannot dwell on minutiae, looking for imperfections which are hardly worth mentioning but are often the delight of a specialist jealous of his narrow research area. I find this a good book based on thorough research, well written, and of impartial opinions. Although Warren is most sympathetic to Quiroga, he has not succumbed to admiration as so often biographers do.

The book deals with a narrow subject, but the reader (indeed the reviewer) is much helped by a clear introduction and a short but precise concluding chapter. Author Warren admits that the story of Vasco de Quiroga and his hospitals, representing "a work of social beneficence for which his name is still remembered among the enemies of his church as well as among its friends," has been written up several times by other scholars. But all that, according to our author, "was done on the basis of incomplete printed sources or only from an organizational point of view." In this book Father Warren has located in the Spanish archives new sources (not as many as he had hoped) and has presented "the history of these pueblo-hospitals, principally from a narrative point of view."

Vasco de Quiroga was one of the first *oidores* of the *audiencia* in Mexico and he arrived there in 1530. He was a *licenciado* and he was an unordained layman who later became the first bishop of the diocese of Michoacan. In his first chapter the author sketches the life of Vasco de Quiroga until his arrival in Mexico. While in Mexico Vasco de Quiroga became interested in the welfare of the Indians and, inspired by Thomas More's *Utopia,* he established the hospitals in today's Mexico. Warren characterizes them as pueblo-hospitals and defines them "as communities organized for the achievement of social, philanthropic, and religious ends." The name Santa Fé was attached to each pueblo and simply meant that the Indians in these "hospitals" received "knowledge of the Christian faith."

Father Warren, an able Franciscan scholar, has done a splendid job in discussing and evaluating and primarily in recreating with original sources the story of these hospitals as they relate to Vasco de Quiroga. It is a careful piece of research; and the writing, editing, printing, notes and bibliography are nearly faultless. A map pinpointing the pueblo-hospitals would have enhanced the book. Author Fintan B. Warren and the dynamic Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington have given us another excellent monograph.

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CHARLES W. ARNADE is the book review editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review.* A professor of history at the University of South Florida, Dr. Arnade is the author of several books on Colonial Spanish-American history.

*The First Los Angeles City and County Directory, 1872.* (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1963. 131 pp. $17.50.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Ward Ritchie, whose excellent regional press is responsible for production of this co-operative endeavor, also wrote the introduction to this book wherein is likewise reproduced two earlier essays about the 1872 directory written by early day local historian J. M. Guinn. The Guinn contributions are so repetitious in nature as to have made it a strong temptation to have eliminated one.

Descriptively the book consists of a straight listing of the inhabitants of the city of Our Lady of the Angeles, with an incomplete additional listing of persons in outlying towns within the county. It is obvious from these enumerations that the great population boom of the 1880's was still in the future and that the day of a predominantly Hispanic Southern California was still a reality. Notable also is the fact that the neighboring precincts of El Monte, Anaheim, Gallatin, and Wilmington had not a single Hispanic listed as resident therein.

Secondly the book contains in facsimile reproduction and color an interesting series of obviously self-composed advertisements submitted by some ninety-four Southern California business firms that felt it potentially profitable to pay for space in this commercial directory. The scope of such advertising ranged from professional services, through consumer goods, to financial and educational institutions. A nostalgic desire for the 25-cent meals of yesteryear can hardly be avoided by the reader.

Finally, there is a brief but inaccurate contemporary attempt at local history, which must have left a great deal to be desired even in the 1870's.

Whether the publishers were profited from their venture, just what the specific date of publication was, and exactly who were the final publishers are still questions in doubt. However, there can be no doubt that this sort of catalog was a bold pronouncement of Los Angeles' coming of age commercially speaking.

This is distinctly a collector's item and a not inexpensive one. Notwithstanding the market to which it is geared and the price, it is a worthy effort to bring into circulation an interesting bit of rare Southern Californiana. With appeal primarily to Angeleños, the reprinting of the first Los Angeles City and County Directory both enhances the value of the existing, yet defective, originals by pointing up their uniqueness, while providing some insights into early local history.

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Donald Cutter, one of the members of the original founding committee of the Western History Association, is professor of Western American history at the University of New Mexico.

# Book of Remembrance

## 1963

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Veta Swift Wolcott
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Lottie Gertrude Woods
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David Powell Andross
Constant Auger
George Washington Baker
Edward A. Balling
John F. Brady
Walter D. Brown
Mildred Campbell
Marjorie Susan Carleton
Henry Coffin Carlisle
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# HISTORIES OF ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

## TITLE INSURANCE AND TRUST COMPANY

Title Insurance and Trust Company celebrated its seventieth anniversary in 1963. It was founded December 20, 1893, in Los Angeles, with $300,000 of resources, out of the merger of two earlier companies that had been started in the real estate boom of the 1880's. Those earlier companies through one of their predecessors—Albert H. Judson, whose firm of attorneys issued the first certificates of title in Los Angeles—really carry the T. I. story back another twenty years to 1873.

An important "first" in which Title Insurance and Trust Company pioneered was the development of the use of the "escrow." The story dates back to 1896 when a man came into the office and left an order for a certificate of title. He had to leave town for a few days so he asked the order clerk to take his executed deed, deliver it to the buyer with the certificate of title and, at the same time, collect the sum of $1,000. Thus, the modern escrow way of handling sales was born.

Today, Title Insurance and Trust Company is America's largest title company, with capital, surplus, and reserves in excess of $90,000,000. Its modern home office in Los Angeles comprises approximately 350,000 square feet.

## CALIFORNIA PACKING CORPORATION

California Packing Corporation, the largest processor and distributor of canned fruits and vegetables in the world, was formed in San Francisco in 1916. Its incorporators were four pioneer California canners and marketers, one of them with a history dating back to 1858, when Francis Cutting established the first food packing company in California.

Calpak's "Del Monte" brand originated in 1891, when it was used by a predecessor company to mark products packed specially for the famous old Hotel Del Monte in Monterey. It now appears on more than a hundred different fruits, vegetables, dried fruits, juices, seafoods, and specialty products.

Shortly after its incorporation, Calpak began to increase its product line and to expand its operating territory from California, the Northwest, Alaska, and Hawaii by establishing "Del Monte" canneries in the Mountain States and Midwest areas, and eventually in the Southwest and on the East Coast. Today, though general headquarters remains in San Francisco, there are more than seventy canneries and packing houses in fourteen states and twelve foreign countries, producing goods for "Del Monte" brand. More than three hundred "Del Monte" sales and brokerage offices are located in the United States and abroad.

Calpak has been an industry leader in the development and application of modern quality control procedures, scientific farming and selective breeding techniques, more efficient canning methods, and research in food distribution and merchandising.

## PATRICK & COMPANY

Patrick & Company, under its present name, was founded by James M. Patrick in 1894, producing rubber stamps in a small third-floor room at 318 California Street in San Francisco. During the following twelve years, the company moved and took over a three-story building at 111 Sansome Street, San Francisco. That was the year of the 1906 earthquake. The fire following the earthquake swept through the area, completely destroying the building and everything in it.

As the downtown section of San Francisco began to build up, the factory and store moved to 120 Bush Street, and stationery was added to the rubber stamp business.

On February 1, 1930, the Moise-Klinkner Company became part of the Patrick organization. Since Moise-Klinkner was established in 1873, the combined organizations made them the oldest marking device house on the Pacific Coast. For the next twenty-three years the business was operated under the name—Patrick and Moise-Klinkner Company.

On July 10, 1950, James M. Patrick died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of eighty-two. During his lifetime he had built the company from a one-room rubber stamp shop into a thriving business.

In 1953 the operating name was changed back to Patrick & Company. Today the company has salesmen in all of Northern California, and its products are shipped all over the world.

## STAUFFER CHEMICAL COMPANY

Stauffer & Company was founded as a partnership in 1885 to make whiting from cliffstone ballast dumped in San Francisco Bay by the sailing ships which carried California's grain to Europe. Stauffer Chemical Company was incorporated a decade later.

During 1925 Stauffer entered the chlor-alkali business by purchasing an interest in Niagara Smelting Corporation at Niagara Falls, New York. This furnished the opportunity to make carbon tetrachloride, the company's first chlorinated hydrocarbon. After World War II the demand for chemicals rose steeply. During 1953, in order to raise funds for expansion, SEC registration was effected, and for the first time the company's securities were offered to the public.

During 1955-56 Consolidated Chemical Industries, Inc., and West End Chemical Company—in which Stauffer had long held substantial stock interests—were merged. Anderson Chemical Company was acquired in 1958, and Victor Chemical Works was merged in 1959.

Some research work was carried on before World War I at Berkeley, but in 1943 a formal program was initiated at Richmond, California, and New York City. This effort has steadily expanded, and now the company operates major chemical research laboratories at Richmond, California; Chicago Heights, Illinois; Chauncey, New York; Weston, Michigan; and a biological research laboratory at Mountain View, California.

## GENERAL MILLS, SPERRY OPERATIONS

The Sperry Flour Company was founded in Stockton in 1852 on Main near Commercial streets, when Austin Sperry and a partner, George Lyon, established a small barley and graham flour mill to supply the horse-drawn freight wagons and pack trains that moved back into the mining camps.

Sperry himself had come to California around the Horn from Boston on the sailing ship *Pharsalia,* landing in San Francisco in late July, 1849. He had but moderate success after a brief mining venture in the Mokolumne Hill area, and a grocery supply business in Stockton was destroyed by fire after two years of successful operations. It was then that the flour mill was established.

In 1892 Sperry & Company merged with five other mills in northern and central California, and the new organization was incorporated as the Sperry Flour Company.

Since early in 1929 the Sperry organization has constituted the western part of General Mills, which in turn has become not only the world's largest flour millers, but the producer of a wide range of package foods, as well as industrial chemicals, electronic and mechanically engineered equipment, and oilseed products.

## COPLEY NEWSPAPERS

The Copley Newspapers, whose main offices are in La Jolla, California, consist of fourteen daily newspapers in California and Illinois, three weekly publications, and one monthly—the Borrego *Sun.* In addition, the organization includes the Copley News Service, whose headquarters are at San Diego and which serves many other newspaper clients besides the Copley Newspapers themselves.

The Copley Newspaper group has its roots in the purchase by Colonel Ira C. Copley, in 1905, of the Aurora *Beacon,* now the Aurora *Beacon-News.* Copley was an Illinois utility owner and later a Congressman who decided on publishing newspapers as his later and most important career. Other Copley Newspapers acquired subsequently include the San Diego *Union,* the *Evening Tribune,* also in San Diego, and the Illinois *State Journal* and Illinois *State Register* in Illinois' capital city, Springfield.

Copley Newspapers maintains a home office at Aurora, Illinois, as well as the main offices in La Jolla. However, under James S. Copley, chairman of the corporation publishing the Copley Newspapers, all individual newspapers remain local in their character and sense of obligation.

Mr. Copley, and the San Diego *Union* and *Tribune,* as a public service, have sponsored a significant San Diego historical project—the writing by Richard F. Pourade of three California histories focusing on San Diego, *The Explorers, Time of the Bells,* and *The Silver Dons.*

## CAMPBELL & WONG & ASSOCIATES

In 1937 Worley K. Wong and John Carden Campbell first met. However, it was not until 1942 that they did their first work together. Their first office was at the corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets in the old Sherman Bank.

The company has grown from a two-man office to a sixteen-man office. Their combined efforts present a wide range of architectural experience to show flexibility in design application. Many outstanding buildings, from residential to large hotels and apartments, are the result of their fresh creative approach.

Campbell & Wong have been the recipients of over thirty awards for excellence in design for a variety of projects. The following are but a few of the awards received: Progressive Architecture Award Citation, 1954, for the Project for a Buddhist Church; *Institutions Magazine* Award, 1959, for Ondine Restaurant at Sausalito, California; *Institutions Magazine* Award, 1960, for Dinah's Motor Hotel at Palo Alto, California; *Institutions Magazine* Award, 1961, for the Galleon Restaurant at Alameda, California.

At present Campbell & Wong & Associates are doing a great variety of all kinds of architecture—large housing at Stanford University, a church, a police building, a bank, a marine biology laboratory, and other diverse projects.

## LAWTON KENNEDY, PRINTER

With characteristic pertinacity Lawton Kennedy chose in 1933 at the depths of the depression, to open his San Francisco printing office. In that year began his association with the California Historical Society which has resulted in the handsome standards of its *Quarterly* and its book publications which bear his imprint.

Other publishers were not long in seeking him out, notably the Champoeg Press and Oregon Historical Society at Portland; John Howell—Books (Warren Howell) and David Magee of San Francisco; the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society; Dawson's Book Shop, Los Angeles; Fred A. Rosenstock of Denver; The Friends of Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Johnsen Publishing Company, Lincoln, Nebraska; The University of the Pacific, Stockton; and John Galvin, Dublin, Ireland.

Lawton Kennedy designs and prints some dozen books a year with the assistance of his son Alfred. Especially notable are *The Garden of Health—A Leaf Book, The Cattle Drives of David Shirk, Journal of a Trapper, Death of Captain Cook, San Sabá Papers, Laws of Burgos* and *Malaspina in California;* the notable series on the Navy in early California, the *Pritchard Diary,* and *James Clyman, Frontiersman, The West of William H. Ashley, Rose, or Rose Thorn, History of Blyth and Company* and the *100th Anniversary of the Bank of California, A Journal of Explorations* and *The Bidwell-Bartleson Party,* including a facsimile of the original in the Bancroft Library, to mention but a few.

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Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

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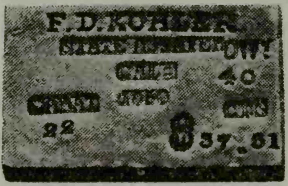

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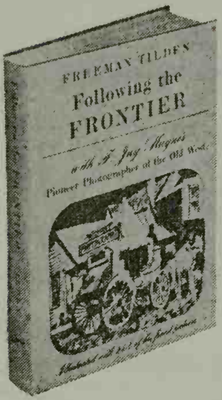

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